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1947

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E 8730<sup>2</sup>

PALESTINE

SEP

Registry Number

E8730/957/31

FROM

Chancery

No.

Washington

Dated

15/29/47

Received in Registry

15 Sept 22

UNSCOP Report US comment.  
Refer Washington letter 15/29/47 (E8584/917/31)  
Enclosed statement made on Sept 11 by  
Governor Newey, also copy of advertisement  
by United Zionists-Revisonists of America  
from New York Times Sept. 12.

Last Paper

8729

References

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61879

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P.O.  
Sept. 24

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Next Paper

E8750

(Minutes.)

copy to C.O. (Mr. Mathison)

N.A. Dept. 21/9  
U.N. (Pol.) Dept.  
✓ P.A. 30/9

The Zionists-Revisonists  
advertisement is worth  
looking at.

J. E. Labla  
(J.E. LABLA)  
22/9

25 Sept  
Sept. 22

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# PARTITION WILL NOT SOLVE THE PALESTINE PROBLEM!

## *It Offers Neither Peace to the Country, Nor an Answer to the Jewish Tragedy*

The majority report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine recommended the partition of western Palestine into Arab and Jewish areas, and the ultimate establishment in these areas of independent Arab and Jewish States.

This recommendation was hailed in many quarters as approaching a solution of the Palestine problem. With this view, we regret to say, we are unable to agree.

As we see it, partition is no solution.

The core of the Palestine problem lies in the arbitrary stifling of Jewish aspirations in Palestine. Partition cannot satisfy these aspirations by striking at the integrity of the country.

*We consider the integrity of the Jewish Homeland as inviolable as the very right of the Jews to Palestine.*

### The Moral Case Against Partition

Morally and fundamentally, the issue is clear. Either Palestine belongs to the Jewish people, or it does not. If it does, they are entitled to the whole of it; if it does not, none of it is theirs. Our position is that the Jewish people, robbed of its homeland by sheer force, is its only legitimate owner. We are not prepared to trade national territory for expediency, imaginary or real.

*We reject partition in principle, and we reject any partition of Palestine because it is unjust and unworkable.*

An examination of the specific partition plan submitted in the UNSCOP'S majority report only serves to strengthen this opposition on all three scores.

### Hits Nerve-Center of Jewish Nationalism

If the Jews have any right to Palestine, it is because of their historic association with that country. But it is precisely the areas excluded from the Jewish State which hold for the Jews the greatest historic meaning. Historically, no less than geographically, they are the heart of the Jewish Homeland.

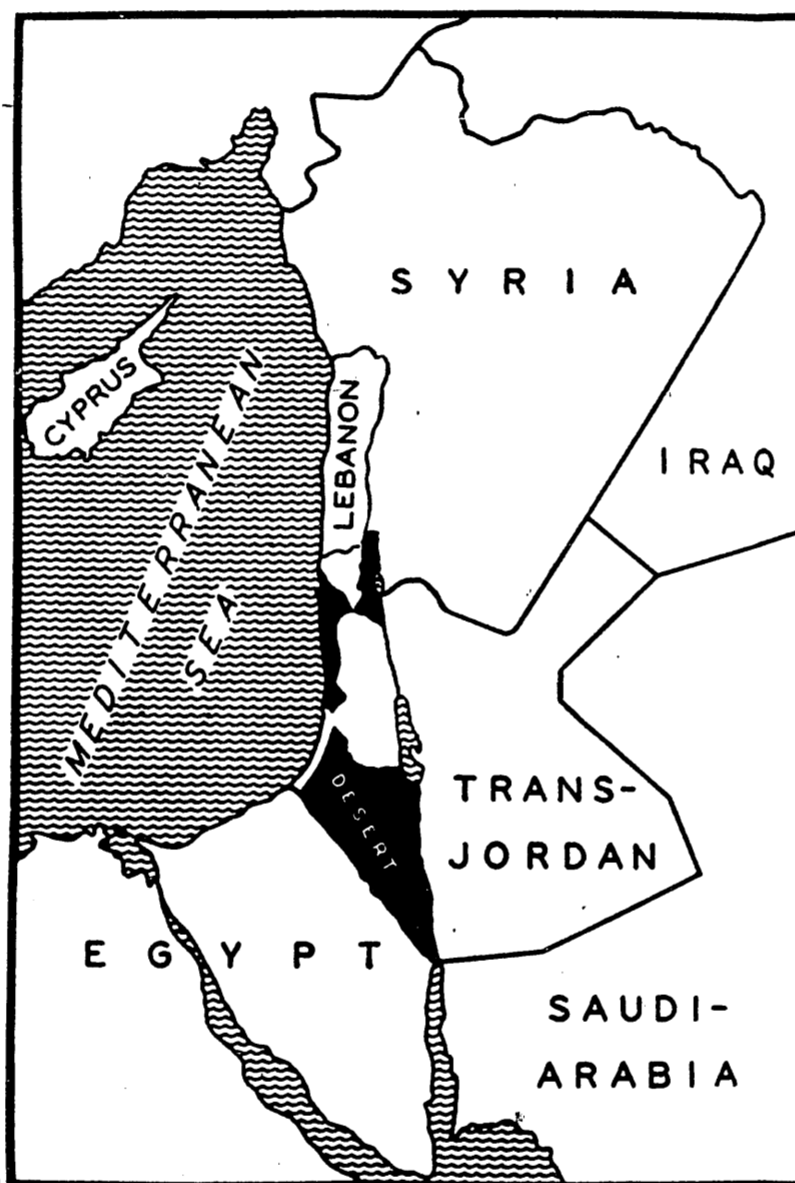
To agree, for example, that most of Galilee, where more Jewish heroes died fighting for their country than Arabs ever lived, should be forever granted to the Arabs; or that Judea, the cradle of the Jewish race, is doomed to remain *Judenrein*, is something that no self-respecting Jew will ever sanction or condone.

Similarly, no Jewish patriot can tolerate the exclusion from the Jewish State of Jerusalem, the historic capital of the Jewish nation and the focal point of centuries-long burning Jewish national aspirations.

### A Subterfuge of Justice

As for the justness of the Committee's proposal, it is conspicuous by its absence. The intentions of most of the Committee members were, we assume, honorable and praiseworthy. Good intentions, however, do not

PALESTINE UNDER THE PARTITION PLAN



Note the complete encirclement of Southern Negev region and Northern Zone. Also note narrowness of Northern and Coastal areas (average width 12 miles). Both are considerably populated. Empty southern desert is cut off from sea as well as from potential water source—the Jordan. Jewish zones marked in black.

### International Pledges Dishonored

Nor was it in accord with what fifty-three nations, constituting the highest international tribunal, unanimously decreed twenty-five years ago. Their studied conviction was that Palestine, on both sides of the Jordan, must be restored to the Jewish people. For their intention was to solve the world Jewish problem in the only manner in which it can be solved if justice and reason are to prevail.

Apparently, the conceptions of justice of liberal humanity after the first World War were different from those of the U. N. Committee. The international responsibilities assumed towards the Jewish people were in the spirit of these conceptions.

The Committee seems to have paid little attention to those international commitments. Their flagrant violation by a faithless trustee was completely ignored by the Committee. The Mandatory was, in fact, absolved of any blame, despite its notoriously illegal handling of the Mandate, and despite the lawless regime it imposed on Palestine and the shocking state of affairs in that country. Even on the high-handed establishment by the British of a puppet Arab Kingdom in eastern, i.e. most of Palestine, the Committee was conspicuously, ominously silent.

As a body representing the United Nations, which was organized to maintain international law, the Committee might be reasonably expected

Under these circumstances, the Jewish State will be, economically, under a terrible strain. Defense will absorb the bulk of its resources, already greatly diminished by partition.

### Economic and Political Vassalage

As if this difficulty were not sufficient, the Committee recommends an "economic union" of both the Jewish and Arab states, which implies that Jewish Palestine will share in the financial burden of the economically undeveloped Arab area and will not be free to embark on any large-scale economic project without the consent of its Arab neighbor. In essence, it will mean that the Jewish State will be a sort of economic vassal to the Arab, paying it a levy in various forms. Subjected to the Arab state economically, the political independence of the Jewish State will factually be a mirage.

### British Rule to Continue

Of all the bad features of the Committee's recommendations, the continuation of the British Administration in Palestine, with its entrenched hostility to the Jewish people, is perhaps the most revealing of the true nature of its "solution" of the Palestine problem.

The withdrawal of the British from Palestine is suggested after a two year transition period, but not definitely, only "as soon as practicable." If Britain will find that "practicability" dictates the continuation of her "stewardship" in Palestine, she will of course continue to administer the country.

What the Committee actually recommends, therefore, is a *British Mandate*, but this time with a promise for a national home, not in the whole of Palestine, but in a small part of it. We predict that Britain will find ways to sabotage the implementation of the new Mandate, just as she succeeded in sabotaging the old one. With an exclusive Arab zone in Palestine, and a strong Arab minority within the Jewish area, it will not be too difficult to stir up new troubles and find excuses for new delays and new drastic limitations.

### No Chance for Expansion

If some Jewish advocates of partition harbor any hopes for expansion in the future, these hopes are nothing but wishful thinking. Today the Jews fight against Great Britain as a violator of international covenants. Tomorrow, if partition is accepted, they will have to fight against the whole world. They will be branded as aggressors.

They will also face quite a different combination in Palestine itself.

For, as it can be safely predicted, the Arab section of Palestine will soon unite with Transjordan and Syria. It will be practically impossible to bar such unification. Greater Syria is the favorite scheme of the Colonial Office. It is the ambition of Syrian imperialists. And it will be readily accepted by Palestine Arabs who lack any genuine Palestine patriotism.

In the face of this foreseeable development, the critical condition of the Jewish areas, small and isolated as they are, must be apparent to all.

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## A Subterfuge of Justice

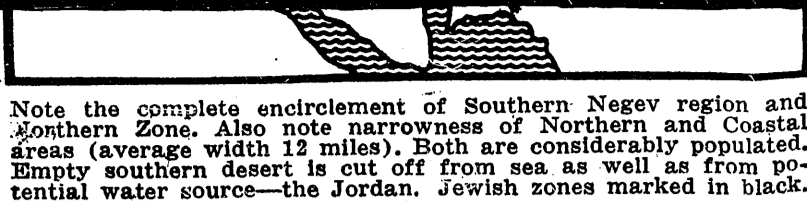
As for the justness of the Committee's proposal, it is conspicuous by its absence. The intentions of most of the Committee members were, we assume, honorable and praiseworthy. Good intentions, however, do not always prevent errors of judgment which are sometimes responsible for the gravest wrongs.

The territory offered to the Jews by the Committee, outside of the densely populated coastal zone and a narrow strip of land in Galilee, consists of the wastelands of the South, the Negev. The rest of the country, which is *thinly populated* and contains the *finest cultivable land*, is proposed to remain exclusively Arab. The mineral resources of the Dead Sea, the country's greatest store of natural wealth—for whose development the Jews labored so hard—also remain largely in Arab hands. So do most of the Jordan waters essential for the industrialization of the land.

Under the partition plan, Jewish hopes for colonization must rest mainly on the arid Negev, whose revival, in turn, depends largely on the establishment of a Jordan Valley Authority. But with the life-line, the Jordan, remaining in Arab hands, the precariousness of the Jewish situation is self-evident. Lacking an adequate Jewish hinterland, the economic development of the coastal area, too, will be inevitably and hopelessly thwarted. In these circumstances, one cannot foresee how Palestine could become the actual home for millions of homeless Jews.

The Committee openly admitted this. Its partition plan is based on its announced assumption that "*any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem.*" We declare that this assumption is utterly erroneous and incompatible with the plain facts. It is true that under the partition proposal the Jewish problem cannot be solved. There is, however, one solution for Palestine which *would* solve the Jewish problem—the establishment of a Jewish State in the whole of historic Palestine.

The Committee rejected this solution. *What it proposed, therefore, is, in essence, to leave the Jewish tragedy untended, to doom millions of Jews to dispersion and homelessness, and all the countries affected by the Jewish problem to a state of chronic irritation and unrest.* That is a course which neither wise counsel nor justice would recommend.



Note the complete encirclement of Southern Negev region and Northern Zone. Also note narrowness of Northern and Coastal areas (average width 12 miles). Both are considerably populated. Empty southern desert is cut off from sea as well as from potential water source—the Jordan. Jewish zones marked in black.

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As a body representing the United Nations, which was organized to maintain international law, the Committee might be reasonably expected to exhibit a different reaction. By treating as it did the international obligations concerning a Jewish Palestine, the Committee rendered a grave disservice to the cause of international authority.

## Jewish Needs of Second Rate Importance

Ignoring the pledges with respect to Transjordan and considering only western Palestine, less than a quarter of the territory guaranteed to the Jewish people, the Committee decided that this, too, would be too much for the Jews. That vast masses of Jews, in desperate need of Palestine, will thus lose their one and only hope, was evidently considered not intolerable. For it seemed of utmost importance to grant another 4,000 square miles of western Palestine to the "land-hungry" Arabs who possess "only" one million two hundred and eighty thousand square miles!

So much as far as justice is concerned. We now pass on to the workability of the plan, especially—to its workability from a Jewish point of view.

## Partition Will Breed Interminable Trouble

What the Committee offered the Jewish people is three chunks of land cut off from each other, with no natural frontiers and no defensive positions. Surrounded on every side by Arab territory, they appear as three tiny islets in a vast Arab domain.

Such an arrangement will not contribute to peace. The encircled Jewish zones and their exposed borders will encourage intrigue and aggression from hostile neighbors. This, in consequence, will foster in Jewish Palestine a determined and irrepressible Irredentist movement which will seek to rectify by force of arms the wrongs imposed by political shortsightedness.

will find that "practicability" dictates the continuation of her "stewardship" in Palestine, she will of course continue to administer the country.

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In the face of this foreseeable development, the critical condition of the Jewish areas, small and isolated as they are, must be apparent to all.

## Inescapable Conclusions

All these reasons lead us to the conclusion that the Committee's proposal for the partition of Palestine is baneful and ill-advised.

Geographically, it dissects beyond recognition a natural, organic entity. Economically, it ruins its best prospects. Politically, it precursus strife and disaster.

It bears the seeds of old conflict.

It represents nothing but another step in the direction of curtailing Jewish rights to Palestine, of placing iron barriers on Jewish development, and of pushing the Jews into narrow confines, ultimately leading to their final liquidation.

We are fully convinced that, under this project, the hopes for a Jewish state are illusory, that the acceptance of such a project by the Jewish people would amount to national suicide, and that it would spell the end of the great Zionist dream of Jewish freedom, sovereignty and independence.

This is not what the Committee intended. But this is the implied, unavoidable outcome of the acceptance of its recommendations.

*We therefore reject the Committee's proposal categorically and unreservedly.*

We have no choice but to continue the fight for an undivided Jewish Palestine, for the final settlement of the Jewish question, and for the establishment of international justice and morality. In this fight, we trust, we shall have the support of all right-thinking and freedom-loving people in the world.

I fully support your nationwide campaign in behalf of Jewish freedom and independence in an undivided Palestine. I am glad to enclose my contribution in the amount

of \$ \_\_\_\_\_

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO  
THE UNITED ZIONISTS REVISIONISTS OF AMERICA  
55 WEST 42ND ST., NEW YORK 18, NEW YORK

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# THE UNITED ZIONISTS-REVISIONISTS OF AMERICA

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Chairman, Executive Board

LEO WOLFSON  
Chairman, National Council

DR. J. SCHECHTMAN  
Chairman, Political Committee

ADOLF LIEBLICH  
Treasurer

DR. B. NETANYAHU  
Executive Director

55 WEST 42nd ST., NEW YORK 18, N. Y. Pennsylvania 6-8368

## U. S. WANTS GREECE PUT TO ASSEMBLY

Asks Chairman Gromyko of the Security Council to Place Question on the Agenda

A MANEUVER IS INVOLVED

Risks Life of Salonika Inquiry Body—Russia Wants Speed on Indonesia Findings

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., Sept. 11—The United States moved today to reopen the deadlocked Balkan case by asking the United Nations Security Council to look for help from the fifty-five nation General Assembly.

In a maneuver to take the dispute between Greece and her northern neighbors out of the hands of the Council, where it has faced repeated Russian vetoes, Herschel V. Johnson of the United States suggested that the Council seek recommendation from the Assembly. The action came in a letter to Andrei A. Gromyko of Russia, this month's Council chairman, who will set the date for the meeting on the United States motion.

Behind Mr. Johnson's simple one-paragraph letter was a complicated parliamentary maneuver and an attempt to keep alive a United Nations Balkan investigation group left behind at Salonika to keep an eye on border flare-ups.

Under the Charter of the United Nations the Assembly cannot make recommendations on a case on the Council agenda—and the Balkan case is still on the agenda—unless the Council specifically asks for advice. The simplest and most obvious move for the United States would have been to ask the Council to drop the case from its agenda, but such a resolution would mean the end of the investigation group, which is an organ of the Council and would cease to exist when the case was dropped.

Apparently, the United States delegation is trying to appeal to the Assembly and save the life of the investigation body at the same time. Mr. Johnson, in his letter, said the request for a meeting was based on Article 12 of the Charter, which provides that the Council can ask for Assembly recommendations if it desires. If the United States resolution, still being drafted, were to pass, it would mean that the case remained on the agenda and the investigation group continued to function.

Many observers here, however, were sure that if the United States did try to keep the investigation body in existence, the resolution would be vetoed by the Soviet Union.

But in any event the United States is reported determined to bring the case before the Assembly. The last resort in case of a Russian veto would be to ask the Security Council to drop the case from the agenda, face the possibility of the killing of the investigation group and then appeal to the public opinion power of the Assembly.

The Security Council was also faced with the possibility that another dormant case—the Netherlands-Indonesia dispute—would come up again in the near future. Compliance with the cease-fire order issued by the Council is being investigated by consuls stationed at Batavia, but Mr. Gromyko declared yesterday that so far no information had been forthcoming. And he added that the Council could not "wait indefinitely."

## U. S. Is as 'Insistent' as Russia on U. N. Veto, Church Observer Tells the Universalists

CANTON, N. Y., Sept. 11 (AP)—A churchwomen's observer at the United Nations said tonight that she believed the United States was as "insistent" as Russia to retain the veto power over the international organization's actions.

Miss Mabel Head of Cleveland, delegated by the United Council of Churchwomen to observe the UN, told the general assembly of the Universalist Church of America that "none of the big powers, with the possible exception of China, would be willing to relinquish the veto at this time."

"The veto power has definitely hampered action," Miss Head said in a prepared address, "but we cannot blame the Russians completely. I believe the United States is just as insistent upon the veto."

Earlier, the Rev. Frederick May Eliot of Boston proposed a "united liberal church in America that will ultimately include all religious liberals in a world fellowship."

Dr. Eliot, president of the American Unitarian Association, told the assembly that "the sectarianism of Christianity cannot stand in the light of the teachings of Jesus. 'Universalists and Unitarians must be in the vanguard of a liberal religious movement that recognizes equality of non-Christian religions in the sight of God.'"

A citation from President Truman expressing appreciation for the work of Universalist chaplains in World War II was read to the assembly by Major John A. Ob-schewshe of Washington, a chaplain attached to the Army Chief of Chaplains office.

## 10 NATIONS APPROVE ATOMIC BLUEPRINTS

Continued From Page 1

sible only on the basis of terms laid down by the Soviet Union, which would in our opinion place no effective restraint on aggressor nations?" he asked.

The United States delegate answered his own question. It was up to the Soviet Union, he declared, to realize that the only treaty universally acceptable was one that would provide real security "against the most dreadful kind of warfare." Such security, he said, would be provided in a treaty based on the report of the commission.

Mr. Osborn also had a word of flat contradiction for Mr. Gromyko's statement that "others than himself" had stated that agreement in the atomic field was impossible.

"This is not my view," said the United States representative. "Such a charge is in my view without foundations in fact, as is proved by the records of this commission."

Notes the Majority Agrees

Mr. Osborn went on to charge, as he had before, that those same commission records showed that since the beginning of the atomic discussions Russia had "attempted to impede the desires of the majority to formulate specific proposals."

Almost all of the twelve delegates except Mr. Gromyko took the floor, and only Prof. Ignacy Zlotowski, Polish scientist, objected to the report. The criticisms of the Pole were much the same as those of the Russian delegation—the broad powers of the agency would harm the "free economic and political development" of individual countries; the report made no contribution toward the problem of eliminating the atomic bomb, and the Soviet Union's proposals for inspection coupled with predetermined production quotas were enough to do the job.

Part of Professor Zlotowski's speech was devoted to an appeal to the United States to loosen restrictions on atomic information and open its atomic laboratories to scientists from other countries. The path of secrecy, he held, had accentuated the dividing line between the "few countries steadily progressing along the road of more and more spectacular uses of atomic power" and those, still in the dark, "which find themselves fenced off from the attractive possibilities of the new field of endeavor."

The first breach in that dividing line, the Pole conceded, had been attempted by the United States in its action making available radioactive isotopes to other countries under "certain conditions." He suggested that if the United States followed this up by making public the result of basic atomic

proposals of the Soviet Union. Mr. Gromyko, as an after-thought following the vote, made it clear that his negative ballot did not mean he was against his own resolutions.

The parts of the report Mr. Gromyko objected to, the meat of the document, were six papers drawn up by three-nation working groups. They deal with the powers and functions of the agency in such fields as management, research, mining, manufacturing and so on.

To End Aid to Island Evacuees

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ALBANY, Sept. 11—The State Department of Social Welfare said today that wartime evacuees from the Philippines and Hawaii who wished to return to their former homes under the civilian war assistance program must apply to the nearest public welfare office for transportation before Oct. 1. Those eligible are civilians who resided in the Philippines or Hawaii before Dec. 7, 1941, and who were evacuated to the United States by Sept. 15, 1945.

## MEDICAL SECTION WEIGHS ATOM PLAN

Advisory Committee Begins a Study on Best Way to Spend \$5,000,000 Appropriation

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11—The Advisory Committee for Biology and Medicine of the United States Atomic Energy Commission began meetings today to determine how the commission should spend \$5,000,000 appropriated by Congress for cancer research and who should head its proposed new Division of Biology and Medicine.

This division would be equal in status with the four other divisions of the commission: Production, Engineering, Research and Military Application. The advisory committee will begin a continuing study of the basic policies which the commission should follow relative to the medical, biological and health aspects of the atomic energy program.

The committee will also study plans for long-range projects recommended by the commission's medical board of review. These include research on possible health hazards in the development of atomic energy, extension of medical and biological research and development and improvement of cooperative relationships with the armed forces and the United States Public Health Service.

The members of the committee are:

Dr. Alan Gregg, Director for Medical sciences, Rockefeller Foundation, chairman.

Dr. G. W. Beadle, professor and chairman of the Division of Biology, California Institute of Technology.

Dr. Detlev W. Bronk, director of the Johnson Research Foundation, University of Pennsylvania, and chairman of the National Research Council.

Dr. Ernest W. Goodpasture, dean

## U. N. Proceedings

YESTERDAY'S EVENTS

Security Council

Atomic Energy Commission—Despite Russian opposition, approved outline of international atomic agency that would own all militarily dangerous ores and plants.

Economic and Social Council Social Commission—Approved resolutions dealing with secretariat's study of standards of living, report on prevention of crime and treatment of offenders and housing and town planning.

General Assembly

Ad Hoc Committee Dealing With Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories—Adopted proposal designed to avoid duplication in transmission of information.

Committee on Procedures and Organization—Continued study of rules of procedure.

MEETINGS TODAY

Security Council

Commission for Conventional Armaments, Working Committee—10:30 A. M. (closed).

Economic and Social Council Social Commission—10:30 A. M. and 2:30 P. M. (open).

General Assembly

Ad Hoc Committee Dealing With Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories—3 P. M. and 7:30 P. M. (open).

Committee on Procedures and Organization—11 A. M., 3 P. M. and 8:30 P. M. (open).

Interim Committee on Program of Meetings—10:30 A. M. (closed).

All meetings at Lake Success.

of the School of Medicine and Professor of Pathology, Vanderbilt University.

Dr. A. Baird Hastings, Professor of Biochemistry, Harvard Medical School.

Dr. E. C. Stakman, chief of the Division of Plant Pathology and Botany, University of Minnesota.

Dr. Joseph T. Wear, dean of the School of Medicine, and Professor of Medicine, Western Reserve University.

Drs. Gregg, Bronk, Goodpasture and Hastings were also members of the commission's board of review.

# BEST

Three great

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# SA

"THE GOLDEN AGE"

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Ar. 9:55 p.m.

It's a Douglas  
It's a DC-6!  
It's a Flagship  
It's American  
It's the Best!

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The Security Council was also faced with the possibility that another dormant case—the Netherlands-Indonesia dispute — would come up again in the near future. Compliance with the cease-fire order issued by the Council is being investigated by consuls stationed at Batavia, but Mr. Gromyko declared yesterday that so far no information had been forthcoming. And he added that the Council could not "wait indefinitely."

"I am not going to ask the Council to discuss this matter at this time as it is not on the agenda," he said. "I merely wish to say that if we do not receive any information in the very near future from the consuls in Indonesia, then I, as President, shall be obliged to direct the attention of the Council to this fact and to place this question on the agenda of one of our meetings."

#### U. N. Opens Book Store

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.  
LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., Sept. 11 —The United Nations will open a book shop tomorrow in the main lobby of its headquarters building here. The shop is expected to meet the increased demand from the public for United Nations publications. It will also offer the publications of certain specialized agencies as well as post car views of the present headquarters and General Assembly building in Flushing Meadow.

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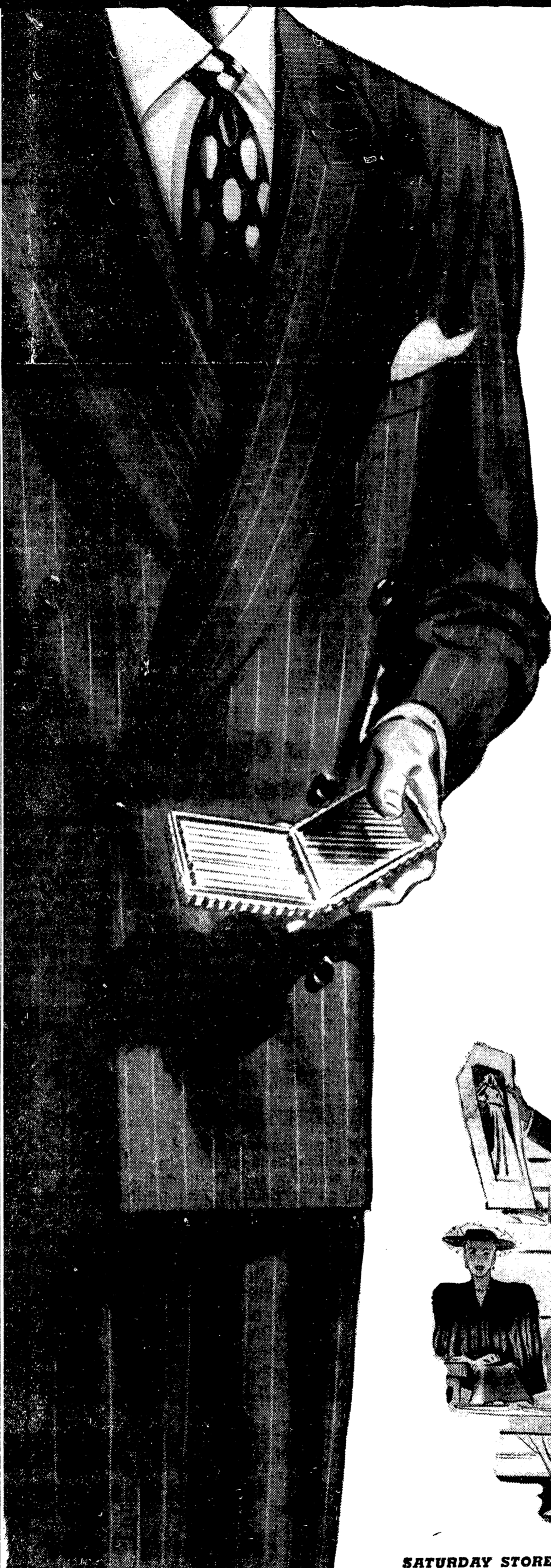
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The first breach in that dividing line, the Pole conceded, had been attempted by the United States in its action making available radioactive isotopes to other countries under "certain conditions." He suggested that if the United States followed this up by making public the result of basic atomic research, the "first breach" would be an important step toward eradicating "national barriers" in atomic science.

#### Others Praise Report

Other delegates, however, praised the report. Captain Alvaro Alberto of Brazil said it was an "honest and diligent" attempt to attain effective control of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Fernand Van Langenhove of Belgium pointed to the restrictions on national sovereignty and called them a step in the right direction. "International cooperation, which is one of the essential aims assigned to the United Nations by the Charter, implies the principle of this action," he said. "Such restrictions cannot be too great when they are indispensable to world security in the utilization of new reserves of energy offered to the world."

The full report of the commission also contains the unaccepted



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E 8750

En Clair.

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

Mr. Evans,  
No. 681

D: 1.31 p.m. 20th September, 1947

20th September, 1947.

R: 6.5 p.m. 20th September, 1947

Repeated to Bagdad  
Cairo  
Washington  
B.M.E.O.  
Amman Saving  
Jedda "  
Damascus Saving  
Jersualen "

A A A A

My telegram No. 678 Arab League meeting.

Following is translation of communiqué issued after meeting of political committee on September 19th.

[Begins]

1. The Palestine case.

(a) The committee finds that Unscop's proposals involve a flagrant sacrifice of the natural rights of the Arabs of Palestine to independence, and a violation of all the pledges given to the Arabs, as well as of the very principles for which the United Nations stands. The committee also sees in the execution of these proposals certain danger which threatens security in Palestine and security and peace in all the arab countries, and has therefore resolved, for the purpose of insuring both the independence and freedom of Palestine, and of defending the greater Arab States themselves, to resist with all practical and effective means the execution of these proposals and of any other measures which do not ensure the independence of Palestine as in Arab State. The Governments of the Arab States previously warned the afore-mentioned Committee of Enquiry of the serious consequences of any recommendations in favour of the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine and openly pointed out to them the inevitable outbreak of disturbances throughout the whole Middle East. This is because the Arabs of Palestine would never accept any arrangement which would do away with the unity and independence of their country, but would wage a war in which no quarter would be shown to repell aggression against their country, and more particularly

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particularly so, because they know that all the Arab countries would stand behind them, support them and supply them with money, men and equipment to defend their existence.

(B) The Arab Governments would never be capable of repressing the sentiments of their peoples rising in consequence of the tyranny that has befallen them. Nor could they stand by with their arms folded in the face of a danger which threatens all the Arab countries, but would find themselves compelled to resort to some decisive action for repelling aggression and re-establishing right.

Such an attitude on the part of the Arab countries or Governments would not be surprising since it has been established on several occasions that the Zionists depend for their armaments, and for their terrorist and military activities, which are aimed at destroying the Arabs of Palestine, on material and moral assistance supplied to them by certain Foreign Governments and by certain parties and organisations which are encouraged by these Governments. Besides the question of disarming the Jews and countering their terrorist activities has been the subject of repeated demands and protests presented by the Arab Governments to the afore-mentioned Governments, but all these efforts failed to produce any definite results.

(C) Therefore, the Committee sees that it should openly point out to the Arab peoples the real dangers which surround the Palestine question, and call upon the seriousness of these dangers, and to offer Palestine all the assistance and sacrifices within his power. The Committee for its part has adopted such effective measures as will ensure the attainment of all the Arab objectives.

(2) The Egyptian case.

The committee, having reviewed the latest stages of the Egyptian case which is in fact the case of all the Arab countries, deeply regrets that the Security Council has not so far been able to solve it on a just basis which will meet both the demands of Egypt and the dignity and strength which the Arab countries wish for that country. The committee adheres to the decision adopted by the Council of the Arab League on 23rd March 1947, and announce that delay or an unjust settlement of the Egyptian question, exposes security and peace in the Arab countries to real danger.

[Ends].

Please see my immediately following telegram.

Foreign Office please pass to Washington as my telegram No 8 and Cairo to B.M.E.O. as my telegram No.138.

[Repeated to Washington].

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(c) Therefore Committee sees that it should openly point out to Arab peoples real dangers which surround Palestine question, and offer Palestine all assistance and sacrifices within their power. Committee has adopted such effective measures as will ensure attainment of all Arab objectives.

(d) Committee, having also reviewed latest stages of Egyptian case, which is in fact case of all Arab countries, deeply regrets that Security Council has not so far been able to solve it on a just basis which will meet both demands of Egypt and dignity and strength which Arab countries wish for that country. Committee adheres to decision adopted by Council of Arab League on 23rd March 1947, and announces that delay or unjust settlement of Egyptian question, exposes security and peace in Arab countries to real danger. Ends, OSEP 13/47

2. Political Committee also resolved that each of Arab Governments should address note to Governments of United Kingdom and United States on lines of paragraph 1 (a) and (b) above. Three such notes have already been received.

3. It is believed that meeting of Arab League Council is to be held on 2nd October to consider possibility of applying economic sanctions against United Kingdom and United States in event of UNSCOP proposals being implemented. Such sanctions might take form of refusal by Arab States to grant new economic concessions to United Kingdom and United States or even of withdrawal of existing concessions.

Copy to:-

Foreign Office	Mr. F.T.A. Ashton-Gwatkin
	Mr. J.P.G. Finch (4)
	Mr. J.E. Cable
Colonial Office	Mr. Trafford-Smith
C.R.O. (King Charles Street)	Mr. K. Barnes (4)

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E 8750 / 951 / 31

Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

22 SEP 1947

MW 12  
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INDEXED

(This is an unparaphrased version of a Secret cypher message and unless it is marked O.T.P. (One Time Pad) the text must first be paraphrased if it is essential to communicate it to persons outside British and United States Government Services.)

CYPHER (TYPEX) **OUTWARD TELEGRAM**

O.D.

FROM: COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE

TO: CANADA (GOVT.)  
AUSTRALIA ("")  
NEW ZEALAND ("")  
SOUTH AFRICA ("")

(Sent 8.40 p.m., 20th Sept., 1947)

D. No. 780 SECRET

ARAB STATES AND UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE.

Report of Committee has been received with indignation in Arab States.

2. We have learned that Arab Foreign Ministers, who are now meeting in Lebanon to consider situation, are gravely alarmed by possibility that policy unacceptable to Arabs may be implemented and that in view of strength of public opinion, they propose to take firm stand now. They have before them resolutions providing inter alia for economic sanctions against United Kingdom and United States interests to be imposed in certain eventualities.

Copy to:-  
Foreign Office

Colonial Office  
C.R.O. (King Charles Street)

Mr. F.T.A. Ashton-Gwatkin  
Mr. J.P.G. Finch (4)  
Mr. H. Beeley  
Mr. Trafford-Smith  
Mr. K. Barnes (2)

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Mr. Burrows.

I attach the following key papers relating to recent developments of policy on Palestine:-

- (a) The Cabinet Paper dated September 18th MCP (47)259 prepared in the Foreign Office.
- (b) The Confidential Annex dated September 20th in MCP (47) 76th Conclusion, Minute 6 giving the Cabinet discussion on the Foreign Office paper.
- (c) The final form of the Colonial Secretary's Statement of September 26th at the Palestine Committee of the United Nations Assembly, contained in New York telegram No.2639.

As regards the question of our tactics in the Debates of the Committee you may care to refer to Mr. Wright's paper of August 21st in E 8126/7622/31 Paragraph 18. It has been our policy during the work of UNSCOP to do nothing to influence the Committee. In the same way our special position in Palestine will make it very difficult for us during Debates to advocate any particular solution and it seems likely that our Delegate will normally abstain from voting. But it is difficult to foresee how the Debates will go.

J. G. S. Beith

J.G.S. Beith

2nd October, 1947

Sir O. Sargent asked to see these papers. He was particularly interested to know whether the Cabinet had approved of any line to be taken by us in discussion of the two UNSCOP recommendations. This is not the case. The Cabinet approved  
our

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*SPB Foreign Affairs*

*Entered*

*E 16*

TOP SECRET

Copy No. ....

E 8773

23 SEP 1947

C.P.(47) 259

18TH SEPTEMBER, 1947

CABINET

PALESTINE

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for  
Foreign Affairs

The Report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine has already been circulated to the Cabinet. The Committee's recommendations fall into three parts. There are twelve recommendations of principle, eleven of which were signed unanimously by the eleven members and the twelfth by nine of them. These are followed by a plan for the partition of Palestine signed by seven members of the Committee. Three members put forward an alternative proposal for the establishment of a Federal State. The eleventh member, the Australian, has not associated himself with either of these plans.

The General Recommendations

2. The most important of the twelve general recommendations are the first and second, to the effect that the Mandate for Palestine should be terminated and independence granted in Palestine at the earliest practicable date.

3. The sixth general principle is also noteworthy. This recommends that the General Assembly should immediately initiate an international arrangement whereby the problem of the distressed European Jews would be dealt with as a matter of urgency "for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem". With this is connected the twelfth general recommendation, signed by nine members, stating that "any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general".

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The Majority Plan - Partition

4. Seven members have signed a recommendation for partition on lines shown in a map circulated with the Report. Salient features of this plan are:-

- (i) His Majesty's Government would be responsible for carrying it out. (There is provision for the assistance of His Majesty's Government by one or more members of the United Nations, but the members in question are not specified). The period of transition for which His Majesty's Government would be responsible is two years, though it is clearly implied that an extension might be necessary.
- (ii) During this period of transition, 150,000 Jewish immigrants would be admitted. Should the period be prolonged, Jewish immigration would be allowed at the rate of 60,000 a year.
- (iii) The frontiers drawn by the authors of this plan are more favourable to the Jews and more unfavourable to the Arabs than those drawn in any partition plan which has at any time been contemplated by His Majesty's Government. The present population in the area allocated to the Jewish State consists of approximately 500,000 Jews and 500,000 non-Jews, mainly Arab. (The latter figure includes Bedouin).
- (iv) The independence of the two States would not be recognised by the United Nations until they had concluded a treaty of economic union. It is, however, provided that, if only one State fulfils the various conditions of independence, including readiness to sign the economic treaty, "the General Assembly of the United Nations shall take such action as it may deem appropriate".
- (v) The City of Jerusalem, with a small area around it, is to be placed under the direct administration of the United Nations. It would be included in the economic union of Palestine.

The Minority Plan - Federation

5. A minority of three members advocate a Federal State, with preponderant power in the hands of the Federal Government. The boundaries of the Arab and Jewish States (which would in fact be little more than provinces) are shown on a map already circulated. The following are salient features of this plan:

- (i) There would be a three year period of transition, in which the country would be administered by "an authority to be decided by the General Assembly".

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- (ii) During the period of transition, immigration would be permitted into the Jewish area at a rate not exceeding its absorptive capacity. This rate would be determined not by the administering authority but by a commission composed of three Arab and three Jewish representatives together with three nominees of the United Nations.
- (iii) The single constituent Assembly which is envisaged under this plan would have to work within the limits laid down in a series of general provisions, of which the most important are the following:
  - (a) Immigration would be controlled by the central Government.
  - (b) The right of residence would be accorded by the local Governments.
  - (c) The central institutions would
    - include a bicameral legislature. One of the two chambers would be elected in such a way as to give proportional representation to the population as a whole; in the other there would be parity of numbers between the Jewish and Arab representatives. Legislation would require the approval of a majority in both chambers.
  - (d) In the event of deadlock resulting from this legislative system, the issue would be submitted to an arbitral body of five members, "including not less than two Arabs and two Jews". Although the allegiance of the fifth member, who would in fact be the final legislative authority in many matters of major importance, is not explicitly stated, it is clear from the provisions made for his election that he would almost certainly be an Arab. Thus deadlocks resulting from conflict along communal lines (e.g. over immigration) would be resolved in favour of the Arabs.
  - (iv) The Head of State, who would be elected by a majority vote of both legislative chambers, would have a deputy who must be a member of the community other than his own - an Arab if he were a Jew and a Jew if he were an Arab.
  - (v) Jerusalem would be the Capital of the Federal State. There would, however, be a permanent international commission for the supervision and protection of the Holy places.

Position of His Majesty's Government in relation to Assembly recommendations

6. The report of the Special Committee will now be considered by the General Assembly, where a two-thirds majority will be required for the adoption of a recommendation.

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7. His Majesty's Government are not at present committed to accepting, still less to carrying out with their own resources, such recommendations as the Assembly may make. At the special session of the Assembly last spring, Sir Alexander Cadogan drew a distinction between accepting a recommendation, in the sense of not impeding its execution by others, and actively carrying it out by means of a British administration and British forces. At the same time he reserved our right to decline the task of implementing proposals which would demand the use of force and which could not be reconciled with our conscience. While making an explicit reservation on this point only, Sir Alexander did not commit us even to passive acceptance of the Assembly's recommendations. Nevertheless we should presumably not wish to obstruct an Assembly recommendation by refusing to accept it. The crucial question will be its enforcement, and it is with this that the following paragraphs are concerned.

Enforcement of the majority plan

8. The majority proposal is so manifestly unjust to the Arabs that it is difficult to see how, in Sir Alexander Cadogan's words "we could reconcile it with our conscience". There are also strong reasons of expediency for declining the responsibility for giving effect to this proposal. The attempt to do so would precipitate an Arab rising in Palestine which would have the moral approval of the entire Moslem world and would be more or less actively supported by the neighbouring Arab States. The Chiefs of Staff state that, in this situation, reinforcements amounting to not less than one division would have to be sent to the Middle East.

9. The long-term political and strategic consequences would be more serious than the immediate military problem. We should be engaged in suppressing Arab resistance in Palestine, and thus antagonising the independent Arab States, at a time when our whole political and strategic system in the Middle East must be founded on co-operation with those States. The treaty rights which would probably be accorded to us by the Jewish State would be poor compensation for the loss of Arab goodwill and with it of our prospect of establishing that firm strategic hold on the Middle East which is an indispensable part of Commonwealth defence policy.

10. In answer to these considerations it might at first sight be argued that, once the operation of partition was completed, we could rely on time to heal the wound, so that after an interval Anglo-Arab relations would no longer be affected. This, however, would be an unduly optimistic forecast. It would probably not be long before the Jewish Government, faced as it would be in the course of time with a problem of over-population and driven by the ultra-nationalist political parties which will not accept partition as a final settlement, would try to expand its frontiers. If Jewish irredentism is likely to develop after an interval, Arab irredentism is certain from the outset. Partition would establish a miniature State, under a Jewish Government but with a relatively very large Arab minority, entirely surrounded by Arab territory. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Arab population of this State would play a part in history not unlike that of the Sudeten German minority in pre-war Czechoslovakia. Thus the existence of a Jewish State might prove to be a constant factor of unrest in the Middle East, and this could hardly fail to have a damaging effect on Anglo-Arab relations.

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11. It is suggested, in the plan under consideration, that other Governments might be associated with His Majesty's Government in carrying out partition. Even if this were possible, which seems doubtful, it would not greatly affect the issue. On a short view, Arab sympathies would be no less alienated from Great Britain. And on a long view, British interests more than any others would suffer from the new element of discord introduced into Middle Eastern politics.

Enforcement of an alternative plan of partition

12. The principle of partition is distinct from any particular application of it, and adjustments could be made in the map proposed by the majority of the Committee which would, principally by reducing the size of the Arab minority in the Jewish State, eliminate much of the injustice of the present plan. But these adjustments would have to be very substantial indeed before they had any appreciable effect on the Arab reaction to partition. And long before that point was reached they would provoke a Jewish refusal to accept it. Now that the appetite of their followers has been whetted by the majority plan, the Zionist leaders cannot accept much less.

13. Thus, if the Assembly were to adopt partition in a form intrinsically more just than that now proposed, the probable result would be that any Power attempting to give effect to it would be faced simultaneously with an Arab rising and large-scale Jewish terrorism. This would create the most difficult of all possible situations in the short run. Nor would the revision of the boundaries of the Jewish State greatly affect the long-term consequences of its establishment. A Jewish Government would not be able to regulate immigration in accordance with a realistic assessment of their territory's economic absorptive capacity. The desire for expansion might develop earlier if the Jewish State occupied a smaller area and would be felt more strongly if the Jews were dissatisfied with the frontiers.

Enforcement of the minority plan

14. Despite their objections to the minority proposal for a federal State, primarily on the ground that it does not altogether close the door to eventual partition, the Arabs might be persuaded to acquiesce in this solution. To the Jews on the other hand it is totally unacceptable. An attempt to give effect to it would therefore be followed by an intensification of Jewish terrorism. On these assumptions the Chiefs of Staff consider that no reinforcements would be needed; in view, however, of the planned run-down of our forces in the Middle East, a point would shortly be reached at which the necessary strength could be maintained only at the expense of some other commitment.

15. The main difficulty, however, in the way of the minority plan is that, since it involves the willing co-operation of the two peoples, it is not capable of being enforced. Many details in this plan are borrowed from the two sets of proposals which His Majesty's Government successively laid before the Palestine Conference in London last winter. But it was assumed at that time that the proposals would not be practicable unless they received some measure of consent from both Arabs and Jews.

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16. It therefore seems probable that, if the Assembly were to adopt the minority plan, any Power accepting the responsibility for giving effect to it would not obtain a sufficient measure of co-operation and would thus be unable to extricate itself from Palestine after the three year period of transition.

Withdrawal from Palestine

17. It appears from the preceding paragraphs that grave disadvantages would follow from a decision by His Majesty's Government to undertake the task of carrying out any of the three solutions which the Assembly may be expected to consider. If these disadvantages are held to preclude acceptance of responsibility for any of the three solutions, His Majesty's Government must be prepared for an alternative course of action. This would be equally necessary in the somewhat similar situation which would be created by a failure of the Assembly to carry any resolution whatever by the necessary two-thirds majority.

18. The present situation in Palestine is intolerable and cannot be allowed to continue. His Majesty's Government have themselves failed to devise any settlement which would enable them to transfer their authority to a Government representing the inhabitants of the country. If the Assembly should fail, or if it were to propose a settlement for which His Majesty's Government could not accept responsibility, the only remaining course would be to withdraw from Palestine, in the last resort unconditionally.

19. The threat of British withdrawal within a specified time, coupled with an offer to assist in giving effect to any agreement reached between the Arabs and the Jews before our departure, might conceivably have the result of inducing them to co-operate in order to avoid the otherwise inevitable civil war. But a withdrawal, if decided upon, should not be made conditional on such an agreement.

20. Withdrawal in the absence of Arab-Jewish agreement has disadvantages which should not be underestimated. There would be an interval between the announcement of our intention to withdraw and the actual withdrawal, an interval in which the task of the Administration might be more difficult than in any previous period. In the absence of a Government to which power could be transferred, the consequences of our evacuation would be unpredictable. Some or all of the Arab States would probably become involved in the resulting disorders; they might even quarrel among themselves over the country's future. In any event it is likely that the situation would before long be brought to the attention of the Security Council.

21. On the other hand our withdrawal from Palestine, even if it had to be effected at the cost of a period of bloodshed and chaos in the country, would have two major advantages. British lives would not be lost, nor British resources expended, in suppressing one Palestinian community for the advantage of the other. And (at least as compared with enforcing the majority plan or a variant of it) we should not be pursuing a policy destructive of our own interests in the Middle East.

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7. The United Kingdom Government are ready to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and Jews. They are not themselves prepared to undertake the task of imposing a policy in Palestine by force of arms. In considering any proposal to the effect that they should participate with others in the enforcement of a settlement they must take into account both the inherent justice of the settlement and the extent to which force would be required to give effect to it.

8. If the Assembly should recommend a policy which the United Kingdom Government would not feel able to implement, it would be necessary to provide for some alternative authority to implement it. In that event, the United Kingdom Government would be ready to hand over the administration of Palestine to any authority designated by the Assembly as soon as that authority declared itself in a position to assume full responsibility.

9. I have intervened in the discussion today because the Committee has before it a proposal involving certain assumptions concerning the future attitude of my Government, and the Committee is therefore entitled to know how far those assumptions are justified.

10. In conclusion, and in order that there may be no misunderstanding of our attitude and policy, I have been instructed by His Majesty's Government to state with all solemnity that, if it proves impossible as a result of the deliberations of the General Assembly to reach a settlement, His Majesty's Government will be forced to base their policy on the assumption that they will have to surrender the mandate under which they have sought for twenty five years to discharge their obligations to facilitate the growth of a Jewish National Home and to protect the interests of the Arab population. This task has now become impossible, and in the absence of a settlement His Majesty's Government must plan for an early withdrawal of British forces and of the British Administration from Palestine.

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E 8774

Azzam Pasha's Views on Palestine.

I had another long talk with Azzam Pasha today, and this time he discussed Palestine.

He thought it would be a great mistake for us to leave Palestine, but he understood our difficulties there and realised that, if we had really come to the conclusion that we could not crush Jewish terrorism, we had no alternative but to quit. Was this, however, in fact beyond our power? What he would like to see us do was:

- (i) offer at the General Assembly to give way to some other authority appointed by the United Nations.
- (ii) make use of the stronger position we should enjoy, after the inevitable failure of the United Nations to produce an alternative administrator in Palestine, to eradicate terrorism from the Jewish community.
- (iii) once that had been accomplished, proceed to disarm the Arab population also.
- (iv) invite the United Nations to assist us in determining the absorptive capacity of the country during the remaining period of our occupation.
- (v) build up gradually, over a period of about ten years, the institutions of an independent state
- (vi) conclude a treaty and withdraw.

Provided the Arabs <sup>states</sup> could be firmly assured against the over-running of Palestine by Jewish immigrants, he was sure they would accept a settlement on these lines. The Mufti would then cease to be of much importance.

H. Bealey

13th September, 1947

P. G. Gamm  
V 15/9

C. A. Warner  
16/9.

B. B. Brown  
15.9

Seen by Sir O. Sargent.

A. A. D. Montague  
17/9

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1947

PALESTINE

SEP 1

Registry Number

ESY88/957/31

TELEGRAM FROM

Lord Kewerchapel

No.

Washington

Dated

5180

Received in Registry

22 Sept

23

U.S.G. Decisions on U.N.S.C.O.P. Report.  
New York Times Sept 21. reports that British Cabinet have decided to accept major recommendations of U.N.S.C.O.P. provided U.N. participate fully in their implementation. Cabinet is said also to have decided that a time limit for withdrawal of British troops should be set.  
Asks whether any decisions have yet been taken

Last Paper.

8774

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

Del. Cairo 1794  
Beirut 602  
Damascus 497  
Iddah 388  
Amman 420  
Baghdad 818  
Sept 26

(Action completed.)

J.C.M. 2/10

(Index.)

26/9/48

Next Paper.

8790  
8946

(Minutes.)

We have telegraphed a summary of the draft statement to be made by Mr Creech-Jones to Arab ports, repeated to Washington

D.S. Bevis  
Sept. 23

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Registry  
No. E 8788/951/31

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OUT FILE

26/9/41 29  
[Handwritten scribbles]

Draft.

Tel.

Cairo 1794  
Beirut 602  
Damascus 497  
Iscda 388  
Amman 420  
Bagdad 815

Report  
on

cypher

depl. no. 1

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

MOST IMMEDIATE

SECRET

Palestine.

Following is final text  
of statement to be made by  
Colonial Secretary at Palestine  
Committee of United Nations  
General Assembly at 11 am.  
New York time Sept. 26<sup>th</sup>.

I have asked for any  
alterations in the text as  
delivered to be telegraphed  
immediately but you may  
take this text as  
substantially authentic.

Begins.

No. 2639 from  
N. York

"It will be ...  
... are to be carried out"

(Ends.)

JB Sept. 26

[A - 6 ...]

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Net Eastern

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[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTF

DIPLOMATIC (SECRET)

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From Permanent United Kingdom Representative to the United Nations)

No. 2639. D. 10.31.p.m. September 25th, 1947.  
September 25th, 1947. R. 4.50.a.m. September 26th, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem )  
Washington ) IMMEDIATE.  
6 6 6 6 6

IMMEDIATE.

GIANT.

TOP SECRET.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Following is text.

[Begins]

(A)

It will be for the convenience of this Committee if I, on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, make a statement at the beginning of our deliberations. I appreciate the opportunity afforded me and I shall be brief. His Majesty's Government is in a special position as the Mandatory Power at present administering Palestine. We have before us a proposal involving certain assumptions concerning the future attitude of my Government. You are therefore entitled to know before you proceed very far in your discussions to what extent those assumptions are justified.

2. I congratulate the Special Committee on the way in which they have carried through their difficult task and the expedition they have shown in presenting their report in time for consideration by this Assembly. The Special Committee have made recommendations to the Assembly, of two kinds. There are twelve recommendations of a general character, eleven of which are put forward unanimously and the twelfth by a substantial majority

/ef

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		1		2	

Reference: **FO 371/61879**

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of the Committee. These are followed by two detailed proposals for the future Government of Palestine, one supported by a majority of seven members and the other by a minority of three.

3. I can say at once that the United Kingdom Government are in substantial agreement with the twelve general recommendations. In particular they endorse and emphasise three of these statements of principle, the first recommending that the mandate for Palestine shall be terminated at the earliest practicable date and the second recommending that independence shall be granted in Palestine at the earliest practicable date, are an exact expression of the guiding principle of British policy in Palestine. The record of our various attempts to secure agreement on a final settlement of the problem - which I will not delay the Committee by repeating - is sufficient and obvious proof of this fact. Nevertheless I take the opportunity of re-affirming that in this fundamental matter the aims of my Government and of the Special Committee are identical. The third general recommendation to which my Government directs attention is the sixth. This is to the effect that the General Assembly should immediately undertake the initiation and execution of an international arrangement to deal with the problem of distressed European Jews as a matter of extreme urgency. It is the opinion of the United Kingdom Government that the entire problem of displaced persons in Europe, Jewish and non-Jewish alike, is an international responsibility and one which demands urgent action. We shall make proposals to this end on a more appropriate occasion.

4. I would therefore only reiterate on the subject of the Special Committee's general recommendations that there is no conflict between their general conclusions and the broad objectives of British policy. We approach the subject of Palestine and its related problems in the same spirit.

5. I come now to the question of the future Government of Palestine. I desire on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state that they endorse without reservations the view that the mandate should now be terminated. It was the original intention of the League of Nations that the mandatory regime in Palestine should lead towards independence. The situation which has since developed clearly necessitates the termination

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61879

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-3-

of the mandate. We accept this necessity and shall willingly lay down the obligations imposed upon us so that the goal of independence may be brought within realisation.

6. It was made clear by Sir Alexander Cadogan at the special session of the Assembly held earlier this year that the United Kingdom Government would be in the highest degree reluctant to oppose the Assembly's wishes in regard to the future of Palestine. At the same time he drew a distinction between accepting a recommendation, in the sense of not impeding its execution by others, and accepting responsibility for carrying it out by means of a British administration and British forces.

7. The attitude of my Government remains as then stated. It is hardly necessary for me to emphasise our readiness to co-operate with the Assembly to the fullest possible extent, and I cannot easily imagine circumstances in which we should wish to prevent the application of a settlement recommended by the Assembly. The crucial question for His Majesty's Government is its enforcement. About that I must say a few words.

8. First, the United Kingdom Government are ready to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and the Jews. Second, if the Assembly should recommend a policy which is not acceptable to the Jews and the Arabs, the United Kingdom Government would not feel able to implement it. Then it would be necessary to provide for some alternative authority to implement it.

9. His Majesty's Government are not themselves prepared to undertake the task of imposing a policy in Palestine by force of arms. Likewise in considering any proposal to the effect that His Majesty's Government should participate with others in the enforcement of a settlement, they must take into account both the inherent justice of the settlement and the extent to which force would be required to give effect to it.

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Reference:

FO 371/61879

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10. I repeat again that His Majesty's Government have determined to base their policy on the assumption that they must lay down the mandate under which they have sought for 25 years to discharge their obligations to facilitate the growth of the Jewish national home and to protect the interests of the Arab population. In order that there may be no misunderstanding of the attitude and policy of Britain I have been instructed by His Majesty's Government to announce, with all solemnity, that they have consequently decided that in the absence of a settlement they must plan for an early withdrawal of British forces and of the British administration from Palestine.

11. In conclusion I may perhaps be allowed to make one or two observations on the task which now confronts this Committee. Our common aim is to bring about a settlement in Palestine which is likely to endure because it is founded on the consent of the peoples concerned. I earnestly hope that the United Nations may have more success than the United Kingdom has had in persuading the two peoples to co-operate in attaining their independence. The United Kingdom Delegation will place at the disposal of the Committee any experience or knowledge they have which may help it in its task. It is also my hope that the statement I have just made will contribute to this end. May I venture to add that if however no basis of consent for a settlement can be found it seems to me of the highest importance that any recommendations made by the General Assembly should be accompanied by a clear definition of the means by which they are to be carried out.

[Inds.] (B)

Foreign Office please pass immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 71.

[Copy passed to Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem.]

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61879

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34

Secret

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO.1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO NO.1794

BEIRUT NO. 602

DAMASCUS NO. 497

JEDDA NO. 588

AMMAN NO. 420

BAGDAD NO. 818

26th September 1947

D. 6.45 p.m. 26th September 1947

c c c c c c

MOST IMMEDIATE  
SECRET

Palestine.

Following is final text of statement to be made by Colonial Secretary at Palestine Committee of United Nations General Assembly at 11 a.m. New York time September 26th. I have asked for any alterations in the text as delivered to be telegraphed immediately but you may take this text as substantially authentic.

[Begins]

[Here follows text of New York telegram No. 2639 to Foreign Office].

[Ends]

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61879

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185

1947

E

PALESTINE

E 8790

07 SEP 1

Registry Number

E 8790/957/31

TELEGRAM FROM

M. Beaurmont

No.

Domecces

Dated

24/10

Received in Registry

20 Sept

23 -

Admitted, commencing by Arab League.

Political Action Committee issued communique Sept 19, Beirut will send a copy. Prime Minister has summoned M. Beaurmont and U.S. colleague to call on him, Monday to receive a protest from Syrian Govt. International support protest will be on line of Baghdad 8/3.

Last Paper.

8788

References.

(Minutes.)

now please see E 8793

J 23/9

In P.P. Amendment Slip 26/9

J 26/9

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

G E M 26/9

(Index.)

J 26/9

Next Paper.

E 8793

32008 F.O.P.

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Reference:

FO 371/61879

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36  
*E. B. King*

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE

E 8790

Mr Beaumont D. 12. 47 a.m. 21st September,  
No. 410 1947.  
20th September, 1947. R. 3. 55 p.m. 21st September,  
1947.

Repeated to Cairo  
Bagdad  
Jedda  
Amman  
Beirut Saving  
Jerusalem Saving

2 2 2 2

Beirut telegram No. 753.

*2500 ref.*  
*4/Gen.*

Palestine.

The Political Committee of the Arab league issued a communique on the night of September 19th of which Beirut is sending you a copy.

2. The Prime Minister has summoned my United States colleague and myself to call on him on Monday at noon and 12-30 respectively to receive a "protest" from the Syrian Government. He informs me that a similar communication will be presented to British and United States representatives in all Arab capitals before September 25th.

3. Although Prime Minister would not divulge terms of this communication indications gathered by my United States colleague and myself are that it will be a watered down version of Iraqi Prime Minister's letter (Bagdad telegram No. 813) warning His Majesty's Government and United States Government in general terms that Arab opinion will not tolerate U.N.S.C.O.P.'s majority report and stating that Arab Government will hold His Majesty's Government and United States Government responsible in the event of its adoption by United Nations Assembly.

4. Unless instructed to the contrary I shall accept communication for onward transmission to you.

5. Both President and Prime Minister have expressed annoyance at latest declaration of United States [gps undec] by and large committee's majority report on Palestine.

[Note by Communications Department Repetition of undecipherable groups has been requested.]

SEP  
1947  
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Reference: FO 371/61879

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186

E

E 8793

38

1947

Registry Number

E 8793/957/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received in Registry

22 Sept 23

Political Committee of League of Arab States  
for a meeting (E 8790/957/31)  
Treatment summary of recommendations made  
by League of Arab States, as well as  
Report asking it also that League of Arab States  
should be asked to consider the possibility  
of a meeting of Arab States as Arab State

Last Paper.

8790

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

I have summarised these telegrams about  
the meeting of the Political Committee of the  
Arab League in a separate minute. Our  
instructions to H.M. Representatives concerned were  
contained in our telegram to Beirut no. 577  
(E 8505). Brigadier Clayton, in particular,  
was instructed to find out exactly what  
was happening and then to take whatever  
steps he could to dissuade the Iraqi  
and Transjordan delegates from putting  
forward their proposals for implementation  
of the Bledan decisions.

These proposals will presumably  
be raised again at the meeting, on 6<sup>th</sup>  
October, of the Council of the Arab League.  
To this extent, therefore, our previous  
instructions still hold good. We might,  
however, now consider the advisability  
of bringing pressure to bear on King  
Ibn Saud since Saudi Arabia appears  
to be the most determined opponent  
of economic sanctions. If we can confirm  
him in his opposition the whole plot  
may collapse.

(Action completed.)

P.L. 1.10

(Index.)

20/10/48

Next Paper.

E 8794

32003 F.O.P.

Now see E 8794

J.E. CABLE  
23/9

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	2	2	2	2

Reference: FO 371 61879

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39

[This telegram is of particular secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on].

Cypher/OTP CABINET DISTRIBUTION.

FROM DAMASCUS TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

E 8793

His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires.  
No. 412.

D. 7.16 a.m. 23rd September 1947.

22nd September 1947.

R. 9.15 a.m. 23rd September 1947.

Repeated to Amman,  
Cairo,  
Jedda,  
Bagdad,  
Beirut,  
Jerusalem.

0:0:0:0

IMPORTANT.

My telegram No. 410.

Following is summary of communication presented by the Syrian Prime Minister with verbatim translation of paragraph 5. Preamble: compliments and request that His Majesty's Government's Legation transmit to you points made in the decision taken by political committee of the Arab League on September 19th.

1. Britain assumed mandate with the intention of educating the indigenous population in accordance with Article 32 of the Charter of the League of Nations. The people of Palestine always opposed the mandate. Britain on the demise of the League of Nations in April 1946 expressed the desire to continue to administer Palestine although the population still objected. You made declaration in the House of Commons in February 1947 stating that the people of Palestine were ripe for independence like other Arab peoples but illogically and despite repeated promises to the Arabs nothing was done to give effect to this declaration.
2. UNSCOP's report proposes to demolish the prospect of independent Palestine as an Arab state. The Arabs of Palestine repudiate this utterly and declare that neither His Majesty's Government nor any other authority has the right to give any portion of Palestine to Zionist [grp. undec. ? ry] a foreign element to establish a Jewish state.
3. Zionist immigration into Palestine has been accompanied by acts of violence aimed at obtaining a foothold there which will allow them to encroach later on Arab countries.
4. Paragraph 4 is an exact replica of communiqué reported in Beirut telegram No. 681 starting at paragraph 1 (a). "The Governments of Arab States previously warned" and ending at the end of paragraph 1 (b) "definite results".  
/5....

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Reference:

FO 371/61879

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187

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41  
E 8794

1947

PALESTINE

24 SEP 1

Registry Number E8794/951/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. M. Evans.

Dated Beirut

Received in Registry 688.  
22 Sept  
24

Political Arab League Meeting.  
Refer Beirut 61 (81) (E8750/951/31) which  
Sami Sarkis refers to left, whether there  
was any truth in the report that Political  
Committee had decided on formation of a  
Military Committee. He said they had  
decided on the establishment of a Technical  
body on representatives from each Arab 4-to 6.

Last Paper.

8793

(Minutes.)

Please see separate minute.

*J. 25/9*

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed.)

*J.M.P. 11/10*

(Index.)

*[Signature] 26/1/48*

Next Paper.

E8860

32008 F.O.P.

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Reference: FO 371/61879







189

79471

E

45  
E 8874  
20 SEP 1947

PALESTINE

Registry Number

E 8874/951/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

Dated

Received in Registry

Lord Gower Dept  
Washington

4987  
10 Sept  
26

Accommodation in New York for ALEX JOSEY.

Refer Jerusalem 216 (E 8873/951/31) UK will  
will do their best to make arrangements and  
will book accommodation from Sept 17.  
Suggest JOSEY should contact ARK, MCKENZIE  
on arrival.

ADDRESSED JERUSALEM 82

Last Paper.

~~E 8860~~

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8) Colonial Office  
11 Sept.

(Action completed.)

(Index.)

GEM 27/9

26/9/48

Next Paper.

~~E 8875~~  
E 8875

(Minutes.)

Copy C.O. first

Then Eastern Dept. } 1-2 This clear to you?  
News Dept  
Inf. Pol. Dept

S. Rabbitt Swain  
12/9

Please see E 8873

26/9

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Reference:

FO 371/61879

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any communication addressed to His Majesty's Government. It was absurd to suggest terrorism was directed against the Arabs when the world knew that it was against us and it was even more absurd to imply, as the note appeared to do, that we connived at terrorism. Prime Minister admitted that this only meant the United States Government.

(c) I was not aware of any promises made to the Arabs of the nature mentioned at the end of first paragraph of communication

(d) As for saying that countries represented on UNSCOP only [grp. undec.] single votes and were unimportant surely every vote counted, witness havoc played by Faris Kheuris' vote on Security Council.

3. By an oversight which I shall rectify when I see him about Egypt to-morrow I omitted to mention that in my opinion His Majesty's Government feel bound to hold Syrian Government responsible for any loss of British lives and property or damage to property incurred by Syrian nationals in Palestine or elsewhere as a result of Syrian Government's inability to repress sentiments of their people's rising in revolt in consequence of the tyranny that has befallen them" (see fourth paragraph of communication and first paragraph (b) of communiqué summarised in Beirut telegram No. 681).

4. I asked the Prime Minister finally what was the general purpose of this communication. Was it a threat? He said hastily no it was a friendly warning. It is obvious as is stated in Beirut telegram No. 678 that Syrians are far from adopting Iraqi Prime Minister's ultimatum.

5. Text of communication made to my United States colleague was identical.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61879

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Registry No. E 8910 (951) 31

OUT FILE

52

<del>Top Secret</del>
<del>Secret</del>
<del>Confidential</del>
<del>Restricted</del>
<del>Open</del>

Date

Despatched 9.50

M

Draft. Tel.

~~Bagdad~~ 816.

~~Beirut~~ 600.

~~Damascus~~ 495

~~Cairo~~ 1789.

~~Amman~~ 416.

~~Jedda~~ 386

~~BMEQ~~ 733.

Sept 25

Report Jerusalem

U.K. Del. N York

3175

~~Amman~~

~~Codex~~

Dept. no. 1

[See Bagdad No. 877]

D. W. Beins

Sept. 25

Important

Palestine.

Please repeat to U.K.

Delegation, N. York, all

telegrams reporting Arab

reactions ~~on~~ <sup>on</sup> the Palestine issue.

25/9

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

1	2	3	4	5	6
		1		2	

Reference:

EO 371 / 61879

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53

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO BAGDAD NO. 816

BEIRUT NO. 600

DAMASCUS NO. 495

CAIRO NO. 1789

AMMAN NO. 416

JEDDA NO. 386

BRITISH MIDDLE EAST OFFICE CAIRO NO. 733

25th September, 1947. D.9.50 a.m. 26th September, 1947.  
Repeated to Jerusalem  
United Kingdom Delegation New York No. 3175  
BBBBBB

IMPORTANT

Palestine.

Please repeat to United Kingdom Delegation, New York  
all telegrams reporting Arab reactions on the Palestine  
issue.

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FO 371 / 61879

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NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

(38654) W114696/147 75,000 6/47 A. & E. W. Ltd. Gp. 685

Registry No.

E8910/951/31 OL JL

54

<del>Top Secret.</del>
Secret.
<del>Confidential.</del>
<del>Restricted.</del>
<del>Open.</del>

Date

26/9

Despatched

12 noon

Draft.

Tel.

Cairo 1790  
 Baghdad 817  
 Jeddah 387  
 Damascus  
 Beirut 496  
 601.  
 Amman 419  
 Sep 26<sup>th</sup>

Cyprus

Dept. No. 1

MOST IMMEDIATE

SECRET

My tel. no. 1768 to Cairo [D]  
 Sept. 23 : Palestine ]

Statement will be  
 made at 11 am. New  
 York time Sept. 26<sup>th</sup>  
 JA, 26 Sept.

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61879

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55

Secret.

Cypher/OTP.

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO, NO. 1790;

BAGDAD, NO. 817;

JEDDA, NO. 587;

DAMASCUS, NO. 496;

BEIRUT, NO. 601;

AMMAN, NO. 419.

26th September 1947. D. 12.0 noon 26th September  
1947.

W:W:W:W:W

MOST IMMEDIATE.

SECRET.

My telegram No.1768 to Cairo [of September  
23rd: Palestine].

Statement will be made at 11 a.m. New York  
time September 26th.

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Reference: **FO 371/61879**










G.A.P.P. G.A/PAL/19 21/10  
 - G.A/PAL/23 23/10  
 - G.A/PAL/26 23/10

JB out 31

G.A.P.P. G.A/PAL/24 22/10

  
 3/11


G.A.P.P. G.A/PAL/31 27/10  
 - G.A/PAL/36 29/10  
 - G.A/PAL/37 29/10  
 - G.A/PAL/38 29/10  
 - G.A/PAL/40 30/10

  
 3/11

G.A.P.P. G.A/PAL/34 28/10

JB out 8

G.A.P.P. G.A/PAL/45 1/11  
 - - - 47 3/11  
 - - - 48 4/11  
 - - - 49 4/11

  
 3/11

G.A.P.P. P.M 788 28/11  
 - - 790 28/11  
 - - 793 29/11  
 - - 794 29/11

JB out

G.A.P.P. Press Release No 237 2/12  
 - - - 238 3/12

HB. 12/12

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References: FO 371/61879





E 8942 / 951 / 31

UNITED NATIONS

Press Division  
Lake Success, Nassau County, New York.

62 E  
h.w.

12 1947

Ad Hoc Committee on Palestinian Question  
2nd Meeting.

(AM) TAKE # 1  
Press Release GA/PAL/246  
26 September, 1947

INDEXED

GA/PAL/246  
Eas  
Dep't

TAKE # 1  
PALESTINE.

Meeting this morning shortly after 11.15 a.m. under the chairmanship of Dr. H.V. Evatt (Australia), the Ad hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question first heard a statement by Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones, Representative of the United Kingdom <sup>the</sup> Mandatory Power.

Mr. Creech-Jones stated that the United Kingdom Government are in substantial agreement with the twelve general recommendations of the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. In particular, they endorse the first, recommending that the Mandate for Palestine shall be terminated at the earliest practicable date; the second, recommending that independence shall be granted in Palestine at the earliest practicable date; and the sixth, to the effect that the General Assembly should immediately undertake the initiation and execution of an international arrangement to deal with the problem of distressed European Jews as a matter of extreme urgency.

Mr. Creech-Jones said that the United Kingdom Government are ready to assume the responsibility for giving effect to any plan on which agreement is reached between the Arabs and the Jews. But, he added, if the Assembly should recommend a policy which is not acceptable to the Jews and the Arabs, the United Kingdom Government would not feel able to implement it. Then it would be necessary to provide for some alternative authority to implement it.

"The United Kingdom Government," Mr. Creech-Jones also said, "are not themselves prepared to undertake the task of imposing a policy in Palestine by force of arms. Likewise, in considering any proposal to the effect that the United Kingdom Government should participate with others in the enforcement of a settlement, they must take into account both the inherent justice of the settlement and the extent to which force would be required to give effect to it." Concluding, Mr. Creech-Jones announced that the United Kingdom Government decided that in the absence of a settlement in Palestine they must plan for an early withdrawal of British forces and of the British administration from Palestine.

Mr. Creech-Jones was followed by Mr. Emil Sandstrom, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

(End of Take # 1.)

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Reference: FO 371/61879



E / /

INDEXED

UNITED NATIONS

64 pages  
Easter Dept.

OCT 1947

Press Division

Lake Success, Nassau County, New York

Ad Hoc Committee on Palestinian  
Question 2nd Meeting

Summary  
Press Release GA/Pac/2  
26 September 1947

U. K. ACCEPTS UNSCOP GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS;  
Will Not Implement Policy  
Unacceptable By Both Arabs and Jews

The Committee this morning heard a statement from Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones, Representative of the United Kingdom, who declared that the United Kingdom Government agrees with the twelve general recommendations of the Report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, but that if the Assembly should recommend a policy which is not acceptable to both Jews and Arabs, the United Kingdom Government would not feel able to implement it.

Mr. Creech-Jones added that in the absence of a settlement, the United Kingdom Government will plan for an early withdrawal of British forces and of the British Administration from Palestine.

The Committee then heard Mr. Emil Sandstrom, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, who explained the impossibility of finding a solution acceptable to all parties and the necessity of reaching a compromise on the Palestinian problem.

(A chronological account of the meeting is given in  
Takes #1 and #2 which follow this summary.)

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Reference: FO 371/61879

UNITED NATIONS  
Department of Public Information  
Press and Publications Bureau  
Lake Success, New York

Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine  
4th Meeting

SUMMARY  
Press Release GA/PAL/4  
2 October 1947

8942/957/31  
PALESTINE COMMITTEE HEARS STATEMENT OF JEWISH CASE 10 OCT 1947

At today's fourth meeting, the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine heard a statement from Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Dr. Silver declared that the very identity of Palestine as a unit of human society is an achievement of Jewish history, that the country lost its separate character with the Jewish dispersion and only resumed a specific role in history when the Palestine Mandate was ratified.

Concerning Arab economic grievances, Dr. Silver said the UNSCOP and Royal Commission Reports prove that the Palestine Arabs benefitted from Jewish development.

Commenting that Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones had stated that the United Kingdom did not wish to assume sole responsibility for implementing the Report and reserved the right of refusing any cooperation in a decision it found to be unacceptable, /

/Dr. Silver asked why the United Kingdom Government had not hesitated to employ in recent years military force. It was, Dr. Silver said, the realization that an Arab-Jewish agreement was impossible that prompted the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Ernest Bevin, to turn the problem over to the United Nations.

Dr. Silver indicated the full approval of the Jewish Agency of all the eleven unanimous recommendations made by the Committee, except the sixth one. (This calls for the General Assembly to undertake execution immediately of an international arrangement whereby the problem of the European Jews would be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency, for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem).

Of the minority proposals, Dr. Silver said they would make of Palestine an Arab State in which the Jews would be frozen in the position of a permanent minority.

(MORE)

65th v.

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Reference: **EO 371 / 61879**

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SUMMARY  
GA/PAL/3  
29 September 1947

68

Mr. Husseini declared that the Arabs of Palestine were determined to oppose with all the means at their disposal, any scheme that provided for segregation or partition, or that would give to a minority special and preferential status.

The Committee will reconvene next Wednesday at 3:00 P.M.

(A chronological account of the meeting is given in Takes #1 through 6 which follow this summary).

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61879

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70

"It is for this and other reasons that were duly communicated to the United Nations that we refused to appear before the Special Fact Finding Committee on Palestine. Otherwise, I desire to assure you in the name of the committee that represents the Arabs of Palestine of our great veneration for your august body, and to impress upon you the fact that we look to the United Nations for justice and equity, and we pin our faith and find our salvation in its Charter."

In their life or death struggle against Zionism, said Mr. Hussein, the Arabs have nothing in common with anti-Semitism. In Palestine, the Arabs had no record of a single clash with the small Jewish community, before the British occupation, because there existed no political designs over that country.

Mr. Hussein then went on to say that the Zionist claims over Palestine, to which, he said, the Jewish position in the diaspora and their political influence in the capitals of the world, gave undue support, have no legal or moral basis.

The Zionist case, he said, is based on the association of the Jews with Palestine 2000 years ago. If that claim had any legal or moral value, the Arabs could have better and stronger claims over Spain, parts of France, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and even parts of India, Russia and China, he said.

The Zionists, Mr. Hussein added, say that they have a special religious connection with Palestine, but so do the Moslems and Christians. Religious rights can give no secular claim to any nation in any country.

(END OF TAKE #1)

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76

Mr. Husseini said that the peoples of the southern and parts of the eastern board of the Mediterranean Sea from the north of Africa throughout Egypt to the Persian Gulf and from the Turkish borders to the Indian Ocean, speak one language and have the same history, traditions and aspirations. One of the greatest political achievements in the world that served as a bulwark of peace and stability was the fusion of several nations into one homogeneous entity. The USA, the UK and the USSR were all created homogeneities that proved of great service in the maintenance of regional and world peace.

It was illogical, therefore, he said, that the United Nations, the peace-making machinery of the world, should lend a helping hand to break up an existing natural old homogeneity as that of the Arab world by the introduction in its midst of an alien body as contemplated by sponsors of a Jewish State in Palestine.

(End of Take #5)

1	2	3	4	5	6
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77

UNITED NATIONS  
Department of Public Information  
Press Division  
Lake Success, Nassau County, New York

Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine  
Third Meeting

(PM) TAKE #6  
Press Release GA/PAL/3  
29 September 1947

(PM) TAKE #6  
Palestine

The solution of the problem that was created by the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, said Mr. Husseini, was that the Arabs of Palestine, who constitute the great majority, set up a free and independent state.

After welcoming last Friday's declaration of the British Government, Mr. Husseini outlined the following principles for the future constitutional organization of Palestine:

1. That an Arab State in the whole of Palestine be established on democratic lines.
2. That the said Arab State of Palestine will respect human rights, fundamental freedoms and equality of all persons before the law.
3. That the said Arab State of Palestine will protect the legitimate rights and interests of all minorities.
4. That freedom of worship and access to the Holy places will be guaranteed to all.

As for the Report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, Mr. Husseini declared that it could not be a basis for discussion.

That report, he said, contains two schemes both of which are based on considerations that are, in the opinion of the Arabs of Palestine, inconsistent with and repugnant to their rights, the United Nations Charter, and the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The Arabs of Palestine are, therefore, he said, solidly determined to oppose, with all the means at their disposal, any scheme that provides for the dissection, segregation or partition of their country or that gives to a minority, on the ground of creed, special and preferential rights or status.

(End of (PM) Take #6 and end of Press Release GA/PAL/3)

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ADVANCE RELEASE  
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Press Release No. 625  
10 October 1947

STATEMENT ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION

By Dr. T.F. TSIANG, Chinese Representative,  
before Ad Hoc Committee on Palestinian Question

Mr. Chairman:

In participating in the debate on the Palestinian Question, the Chinese Delegation is at a disadvantage. In the long history of my people, we have never faced a problem of this nature. In one of our oldest provinces, we have had with us for some six or seven centuries a Jewish community. It is, however, only in recent years when historians and anthropologists called our attention to this group that we realized that we had some Jews in the very heart of our country. Throughout the centuries of their quiet existence, the Government of China passed no law and took no measure against or in favor of the Jews in Honan. In fact we have not been conscious of their being different from other Chinese. They have had, of course, their own temple and maintained their own religious services, which must be different from the religious practices in the other temples of China, but the people took for granted that it was not their business to pry into the affairs of their neighbors.

In more recent years, we have had Jewish people from almost all countries of the world but we take them to be Englishmen, Americans, Frenchmen, Italians or whatever their nationality may be, in no way different from other foreigners who have come to our country on a variety of objects.

As a result of the horrible prosecutions under Hitler, a considerable number of Jews took up residence in China, mainly in the city of Shanghai. During the post-war period it was one of my duties as Director of the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA) to do what we could for these unfortunate Jews who had been segregated by the Japanese in an artificial ghetto. Although we had on our hands an enormous number of victims of the war who needed relief badly, we allocated to these Jewish guests a treatment somewhat better than we gave to our own destitute because we felt hospitality required us to do that. We have in Shanghai, therefore, a foreign refugee problem, but we have not had a Jewish problem. Mr. Chairman, I say all this without the least intention to hint at any superiority that we Chinese might have. I say all this in true humility, to explain the embarrassment I find myself in while sitting as Chinese representative on the Ad Hoc Committee.

Because of this background, we do not understand anti-semiticism. Neither do we understand Zionism. The anti-Jewish pogroms which my people read in history books and the anti-Jewish cruelties under the Nazi regime which my people more recently learned through the press, have all been incomprehensible. Although our sympathy is naturally with the Jews, and although in favor of doing all we can for their relief, I am afraid that we from China have not understood all the complications and complexities of the Palestinian problem.

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FO 371 / 61879

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79

Among the unanimous recommendations of our Special Committee on Palestine, there is one which is very simple and which we think deserves our immediate attention. I refer to Recommendation 6 which states, "The General Assembly undertake immediately the initiation and execution of an international arrangement whereby the problem of the distressed European Jews, of whom approximately 250,000 are in assembly centers, will be dealt with as a matter of extreme urgency for the alleviation of their plight and of the Palestine problem." Well, Sir, it is clearly unfair and it might be physically impossible to send all the 250,000 Jews in displaced persons camps in Europe to Palestine. Whatever solution we might find for the Palestinian problem, we must do something for the Jewish refugees apart from and in addition to Palestine.

In handling the Palestinian problem, we must at one stage or another appeal to the nobler sentiments among the Arabs. It appears to me then that the other nations, in many respects more fortunate than the little country of Palestine, should set an example in generosity. If the Assembly should fail to establish the principle of proportionate sacrifice among the nations, what we may have to say to our Arab friends would be without moral cogency.

Now I wish to come to the Palestinian problem itself. Through the course of this debate I have heard historical, legal and humanitarian reasons advanced with eloquence and force in support of an independent Jewish state in Palestine. As I listened, the reasons advanced seem to be all compelling but after some cool reflection I must confess that I have not been able to find a chain of reasoning which is so conclusive as to establish, beyond possibility of dispute, the Jewish title to Palestine. On the other hand, other speakers have put forward learned reasons based on history, law and equity, showing how the Arab claim to Palestine is as good as that of any other people to the land which they occupy and possess today. I cannot say that I accept all the Arab arguments, but I must state that my feeling is that the Arab claims have considerable force on ground of history, law and equity. We might do well by giving due recognition to their claims, so as to reassure our Arab friends that we are not animated in the least by any ill-will towards them.

After we have decided to make our proportionate contribution to the solution of the Jewish refugee problem and after we have given our due recognition to the special position of the Arabs in Palestine, we will be in a good position to request our Arab friends to co-operate with the United Nations and with the Jewish Agency in fostering a National Home for Jews in Palestine. What form that National Home should take, my Delegation has no particular preference.

The majority report of the Special Committee recommends the partition of Palestine. We have been told in unmistakable terms by the Representative of the Arab Higher Committee that the partition of Palestine will be resisted with force. I regret that the Representative of the Arab Higher Committee threatened to use force but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that in the past force has been used, blood has been shed, and that even today the little country of Palestine is suffering from physical violence. We must take into consideration the possibility of a bloody conflict if we try to enforce partition on Palestine.

The Charter of the United Nations has many provisions calculated to promote objectives which we all consider to be good and desirable. However, it is obvious that the primary objective of us all is to prevent aggression and to maintain the peace among nations. The Charter allows us to resort to

MORE

1
2
1
3
4
5
2
6

Reference:

FO 371/61879

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83

can accomodate no more guests, not to speak of the uninvited. And—are we still allowed to say it? —it happens to belong to its rightful owners.

Last year, during the second part of the first session of the General Assembly, the Egyptian Delegation had the honor to propose a resolution concerning persecution and discrimination. This proposal was unanimously adopted on the 19th of November 1946. It read "The General Assembly declares that it is in the higher interests of humanity to put an immediate end to religious and so-called racial persecution and discrimination and calls on the Governments and responsible authorities to conform both to the letter and to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, and to take the most prompt and energetic steps to that end". With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I shall quote here a passage from the report of the Secretary General to the present session of the Assembly. On page thirty-five we read: "The General Assembly, in resolution 103(I) of 19 November 1946, declared that "it is in the higher interests of humanity to put an immediate end to religious and so-called racial persecution and discrimination". The United Nations has not yet, however, established any effective machinery either for the prevention of discrimination or the protection of minorities comparable to that which was set up in 1919 under the League of Nations for the protection of certain European minorities. Up to the present time, moreover, no Government has come forward with any concrete suggestion regarding possible action by the United Nations in the matter."

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates,

Persecution and discrimination have to end; and the problem of the displaced persons is a world problem the burden of which is to be borne by the world as a whole. This is our inescapable duty; this, and not the heavy subsidizing of a short-sighted, fanatic Zionist movement which has all the aspects and substance of an open aggressive war on Palestine. And allow me please to remind you that the response, from many rich and vast countries, to the appeal and enquiry recently made by the United Nations in behalf of the displaced persons, was not in any sense edifying or inspiring or constructive. It is not my point here to mention any country by name or repeat now any of the answers. The records are there for any one who cares to peruse them.

(MORE)

1	2	3	4	5	6
1				2	

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85  
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Press Release PM/645  
15 October 1947

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27 OCT 1947

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE PALESTINE QUESTION

STATEMENT BY MR. CAMILLE CHAMOUN, REPRESENTATIVE OF LEBANON

(Provisional Translation)

I am obliged to speak once more in order to offer certain rectifications in the interests both of this discussion and of truth in general, and to reply to some of the previous speakers.

The distinguished representative of Uruguay delivered a long speech. I appreciated its eloquence, and occasionally its melodramatic tone; but I hope he will pardon me if I agree neither with the theories which he advanced to suit his case nor with certain of his proposals.

The distinguished representative proposes the partition of Palestine. It is true that he told us that he was against the incorporation into the Jewish State of the city of Jaffa and of the region of Beersheba. In exchange, however, he suggests that Western Galilee should be incorporated into the Jewish State, on the ground that the Jews possess some prosperous colonies in that region.

This Committee is perhaps unaware--and the distinguished representative was very careful not to give them the facts--of the great disproportion between the Arab and the Jewish population in that region. In Western Galilee the population is divided as follows: out of a population of 124,000 about 98% are Arabs and 2% Jews.

The distinguished representative tried to counterbalance his majority, which could not be more overwhelming, by proclaiming the theory of "the greatest social utility". If the Jews have shown themselves capable of a superior organization of agriculture--which remains to be proved--they must, according to this theory, be given the territories which they covet in spite of the enormous disproportion in the composition of the population.

This Committee will know what value to attach to this conception of superiorities.

MORE

1
2
3
4
5
6

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86

2  
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Press Release FM/645  
15 October 1947

LEBANON  
Press Release FM/645  
15 October 1947

Furthermore the distinguished representative explained to you that Palestine is intimately bound up with the problem of the Jewish refugees, and asked you to decide at once to transport 30,000 children and their parents to that country.

It is always very sad to hear of children in distress, and the distinguished representative, appealing to your humanitarian spirit, tried to play on your feelings. But, gentlemen, it is not only Jews and Jewish children who are to be found amongst the refugees and displaced persons. There are at present in the concentration camps about 900,000 Christians, including an incalculable number of children whose situation is even more tragic than that of the Jews. However, no solution has yet been found for these. The reason is perhaps that these unfortunates possess neither the resources of Zionist propaganda, nor even the eloquent voice of the distinguished representative, which urge the (sic) adoption of discriminatory measures for the sole benefit of the Jews.

From this standpoint, I have perused the documents of the Third Committee for Social and Humanitarian questions; particularly those dealing with the discussion of the situation of the refugees. Not only did I not find amongst them any helpful or constructive proposals on the part of the delegation of Uruguay for assistance to these victims of the war; but that delegation maintained throughout the discussion an impassive and indifferent silence. Now they are pressing the demand -- and with what persistence! -- that the gates of Palestine be opened to 150,000 Jewish refugees from Europe. It is always very easy to appear humane and philanthropic when the humanity and philanthropy are to be exercised at other peoples' expense.

The Polish delegation also supported the majority recommendations as an immediate solution. In its opinion Jewish emigration into Palestine will, in conjunction with other measures, solve the problem of Jewish refugees in Europe. It will put an end to the Jewish exodus and to the persecutions to which the race has been subject throughout history.

Gentlemen, there are attitudes and speeches which leave one helpless, either because they are so lacking in logic that they seem to come from another

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1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

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world, or because one does not succeed in grasping their motives.

Because the Jews have been persecuted in Europe, the Polish delegate is moved by his compassion for them to make Palestine Arabs suffer the consequences and partition their territory.

Anxiety to save time prevents me from giving you a summary of the persecutions of the Jews in Europe, or from giving the names of those countries where such persecutions started, or where they finished. I will content myself with a single remark. Out of the 600,000 Jews who have emigrated to Palestine, nearly 60% are Polish. Further, as my Syrian colleague pointed out to you the other day, more than 120,000 of the Jews still in concentration camps in Europe are Polish. Is it normal for more than 360,000 people to emigrate as they have done? Is it normal for the 120,000 Polish Jews now in concentration camps not to return to Poland? Why, furthermore, do none of the Jews living in Egypt, Lebanon, Damascus, Iraq, the two Americas, the United Kingdom, or France want to leave those countries and emigrate to Palestine? When the Polish delegate can give satisfactory answers to these questions, which each one of us has a right to ask, I shall be in a better position to appreciate the motives for this compassion.

The Czechoslovak delegate is also in favor of the adoption of the majority plans, and he tells us his reasons very simply. His conscience pricks him because he has allowed so much barbarous persecution of the Jews in Europe.

What have the Palestinian Arabs got to do with all this? Must the integrity of their territory and their national unity be sacrificed to political Zionism in order to salve the delegate's conscience, or even to remedy the deficiencies of European statesmen who have been unable to protect the Jews from persecution?

I hope the Czechoslovak delegate will allow me to speak frankly to him, as the occasion demands: You, who knew in 1938 the bitter humiliation and agony caused by the mutilation of your own territory; you, who since the end of the war have expelled with violence populations who had for centuries lived upon your soil but who by their presence constituted a threat to your territorial integrity and to your national unity; having suffered as you have suffered and reacted as you have reacted, you should in all justice have refused to give your support to the dismemberment of another people's territories.

MORE

1
2
3
4
5
6

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FO 371/61879

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The Swedish delegate has conducted us through such a labyrinth of reasoning that I find it difficult to follow him. This is what he told us in order to persuade this Committee to adopt the majority recommendations:

Let us forget the past. This past, nevertheless, includes 13 centuries of continual and almost exclusive possession, of battles, memories and traditions such as have shaped the history of each nation, and which all men hold dear -- even as he, as a Swede, must hold dear the history of his own country. But to recall this past is to spoil his argument. He advises us to forget it.

He suggests that we should also disregard the legal side of the question. The Balfour Declaration and the Mandate in which it was incorporated have settled the fate of a country without the consent of its inhabitants. These documents are in contradiction with the inhabitants' natural rights, their legitimate aspirations, and the solemn pledges which were made to them. Further, they are contrary to the spirit and letter of the League of Nations covenant and the United Nations Charter. He advises us not to discuss the matter. Let us consider the situation as it is at present, adds the Swedish delegate, and he quotes, "A useful discussion must be based on the present state of affairs. Let us, on this basis, seek a peaceful solution by political and economic means."

"What is the present state of affairs? The Arabs are in the majority and the Jews in the minority."

As a consequence of this latter piece of reasoning one would ordinarily have expected a conclusion inspired by the liberal and democratic regimes existing in all countries where there are minorities.

Nothing of the sort. He suggests exactly the contrary: divide Palestine into two States. Let the Arab majority become the Jewish majority and the Jewish minority an Arab minority. This is the kind of upheaval which, throughout the course of history, has brought about the most terrible tragedies, but in the delegate's opinion, it constitutes a peaceful solution.

He stated unequivocally that the artificial nature of the two proposed States and their lack of viability and solidity were real and obvious. Nevertheless, he recommends the creation of these two States. In his opinion, this is a logical solution.

The proposed Arab State, shorn of its outlets, its means of access, its

MORE

1	
2	
3	
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89

Lebanon  
PM/645

arable land, of practically half of its population, is a still-born State. The delegate advises making an economic union, a union in which the Jewish State would hold all the key positions. That, in his eyes, constitutes a just solution.

The Arabs of Palestine have come before your Committee asking nothing more than an equitable judgment, inspired by the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter. The honorable delegate proposes to you that, before deciding their case in accordance with the principles by which we are governed; or taking into consideration their legitimate demands, you should decide on the force which shall be used to crush them should they refuse to accept the division of their territories. The honorable delegate considers this solution both just, logical and practical.

Gentlemen, I must apologize for dwelling on certain passages of the statements you have heard. I think it my duty, however, to point out to you the kind of trials to which the common sense of your Committee is often subjected by these statements.

The honorable delegate of Guatemala made a speech and submitted a resolution. I did not think that the honorable delegate, who has had an opportunity to give free rein to his oratorical talents at Zionist meetings, would take the floor before this Committee. It is not that I wish in any way to limit the honorable delegate's freedom of expression, for this freedom is sacred to all. Nevertheless, I think that if an individual or an expert or an investigator, especially if he belongs to an august Organization like ours, is entrusted with arbitration, an expert opinion, or an investigation, it is his duty to be reserved and circumspect and, above all, to refrain from publicly supporting the cause of one of the parties to the dispute outside these precincts. Such actions and gestures may cause the public whose eyes are turned on us to doubt his impartiality, at least, and this might jeopardize our whole Organization.

The honorable delegate's statement may be divided into several parts; the first consists of an attack against the British Administration which has become classical. The second and longest gives us an account of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, and is an attempt to make us forget that the subject of our debates is not the Grand Mufti, who is an essentially ephemeral person, but the future

MORE

1
2
3
4
5
6

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of 1,400,000 people and their national rights. The third consists of an inaccurate interpretation of documents and of history. The fourth is a direct accusation against the Christians of Lebanon, and the last is a paean of praise, extolling the benefits of Zionist colonization and calling upon free men to exchange their liberty for these benefits.

I shall not follow the honorable delegate of Guatemala in his peregrinations. As I have already replied to his arguments in my previous statements, I shall confine myself to discussing specific points to which the immediate attention of your Committee may be applied. This will, moreover, enable you to assess, by deduction, the value of the whole of the statement with which he honored us. In the first place, I do not want to recall what the honorable delegate suggested by insinuating, on page 15 of his statement that Palestine "was a conquered territory, in subjection to the government of the Caliphs, who possessed a vast empire carved out by the sword." It is quite possible that the honorable delegate prefers easier conquests. That is his own affair, and it is a matter of taste. In any case, when his ancestors conquered the Indians in Guatemala, they did not do so by brandishing olive branches. Furthermore, even though Palestine is merely a province of a vast Arab empire, this did not make it less Arabic and it has remained Arabic. It preserved this character under Ottoman domination. Iraq, for instance, is in precisely the same position as Palestine, but no one has contested her right to independence or her Arabic character. The same applies to the other territories detached from the Ottoman empire.

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1					
2					
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4					
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FO 371/61879

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91  
Lebanon  
Press Release PM/645  
15 October 1947

In his interpretation of Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne, the honorable delegate of Guatemala asserted that when Turkey renounced all her rights and claims over territories situated beyond the frontiers established by this Treaty, the renunciation, in so far as Palestine was concerned, benefited not the inhabitants of that country, but the Allied Powers which were parties to the Treaty.

Such assertions merely constitute misinterpretations of history and of the Treaty of Lausanne. Attempts to convince the Committee by such false arguments are insulting to its common sense. The Treaty of Lausanne not only settled the fate of Palestine in relation to Turkey and the Allied Powers which signed it, but it also in general settled the future of the territories detached from the Ottoman Empire, that is to say, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, etc. Turkey's renunciation of the territory which is called Lebanon or Syria, for instance, was not done for the benefit of France any more than the renunciation of Iraq was done for the benefit of Great Britain. It was done for the benefit of the inhabitants of those countries. The same applied to Palestine, which cannot be considered as an exception, however much the honorable delegate may wish to do so. The very terms of the Treaty of Lausanne constitute sufficient proof that this is so.

This Treaty does not refer to a cession, but to a renunciation. The beneficiaries of this renunciation, in the cases of Lebanon, Syria, Iraq or Palestine, were the populations of these countries.

The honorable delegate, feeling, after all, that the argument to which he devoted two long pages was weak, said to us: "Even if it is considered that the renunciation was made for the benefit of the inhabitants of Palestine, it should benefit the Arabs like the Jews, since the Jews have acquired a right over Palestine through the Mandate."

That is a point which we dispute for reasons which we have so often stated. These reasons are based on the natural right of the Palestine Arabs to decide the future of their own country, a right which the Mandate does not respect; and upon the illegal character of the Mandate, which is in formal contradiction with Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations; I shall

MORE

1	2	3	4	5	6
	1			2	

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quote it once again in order to convince the honorable delegate of Guatemala:

"Article 22 (4). - Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory."

May I ask the honorable delegate if he sees in this text any grounds for the subsequent institution of a Jewish National Home or of Jewish immigration, or for the establishment of a Jewish State against the wishes of the inhabitants of a country which has already been recognized as independent?

Does not the very Mandate which he invokes and which was invoked by the honorable delegate of the United States formally impose restrictions on the establishment of a National Home which not only render impossible the establishment of a Jewish State, but inevitably impose bounds upon immigration compatible with safeguarding the civil and political rights and the position of the Arabs?

The honorable delegate of Guatemala, intent on justifying the partition of Palestine for the sake of creating a Jewish State, has told us of numerous instances of territory being given up without its inhabitants being consulted.

These changes of territory have been put into force, as the honorable delegate said, by treaties which have been concluded or are in process of conclusion.

Gentlemen, we learned at school that a treaty is an agreement reached between sovereign States through governments representing the peoples of those States. That is why treaties for the cession of territory have dispensed with the inhabitants.

In all other cases, where no government exercising sovereignty over such territories has existed, consultation has been imposed in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples. It was in accordance with this principle that the United States Government, for instance, did not recognize the absorption of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union. It is by virtue of this principle of free self-determination that the United States

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6

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FO 371/61879

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94

The rest of the story is well known. King Hussein repudiated this agreement as soon as he knew of it and the Palestine Arabs followed suit.

In the second place, the great independent Arab State never came into existence. On the contrary, European policy divided the spoils of the Ottoman Empire into spheres of influence called Mandates.

The honorable delegate of Guatemala quoted, among other things, the testimony of a bishop of my country in order to give you the impression that Christian opinion, at least in Lebanon, is favorable to the creation of a Jewish State. I was expecting that he would try to do so, as I heard several days ago that the honorable delegate, showing a somewhat surprising zeal, had obtained from the Secretariat the last remaining copy of this famous document.

But I am going at once to dash the hopes which the honorable delegate has thought to base on it. The bishop whose testimony he invoked is only one of several millions of Christians living in Arab countries who, for the same reasons as everybody, oppose steps calculated to deprive all or a part of Palestine of its Arab national character. This testimony carries so little weight that this bishop's superior has publicly and categorically denied that he has any authority to speak in the name of his community. In addition the clergy of all the Christian communities in Lebanon have disapproved of the bishop's attitude. Here is the text of a statement issued by the supreme head of the Greek Church of Antioch and the whole East:

"We condemn Bishop Mubarak's action as harmful to Christianity. We have been and we remain in the forefront of the defenders of Arab Palestine. The Christians even more than the Moslems are resolved to defend it and to accept every sacrifice in order to free it."

This reaction does not spring solely from the unity of feeling which necessarily animates all the inhabitants of the Arab countries without distinction of religion, nor solely from the spirit of harmonious and brotherly cooperation which prevails between the communities of these countries and which the Holy Father welcomed from Rome last year as one of the happiest events in history. It springs also from the fact that the Christians long ago made their final choice between the spirit of friendliness and good faith of their Moslem fellow-countrymen and the fanatical intolerance of the Zionism which is over-running Palestine.

MORE

1					
2					
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4					
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95

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Lebanon  
Press Release PM/645  
15 October 1947

This Committee is aware that the status quo governing the preservation of the Christian holy places of Jerusalem, which has been adopted by consent of all the Christian communities, entrusts their protection to Moslems. History does not show a single instance in which this Moslem guard has failed strictly to fulfill its duties in regard to these places.

In 1947 the Christian clergy of Palestine submitted to His Holiness the Pope a memorandum complaining of a moral and religious evil wrought by Zionism. I will quote a couple of extracts only from this memorandum:

1. The Polish Catholics who lived at Tel-Aviv during the war desired to build a small chapel in which to conduct their religious services. The Tel-Aviv authorities refused even to consider the existence of a Christian place of prayer in their city.

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[Faint, mostly illegible text continues in the lower half of the page, appearing to be a continuation of the memorandum or a report.]

1
2
3
4
5
6

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96

The Poles had to rent a private room in which to hold their religious ceremonies.

2. For the Good Friday services this year, the Franciscan monks organized a procession to the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. Next day, the Zionist press violently attacked the monks who had preached during the service, accusing them of anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist propaganda -- not that there was any truth in the assertion, but merely because they wanted to prevent them from organizing religious processions in future.

This development of Zionist fanaticism had long been foreseen.

On 20 June 1920 Lord Sydenham said in the House of Lords:

"A great many things have happened since then, and I should like to draw your attention to what was said by the Bishop of Jerusalem during a meeting held at Church House and reported in the 'Guardian' and the 'Church Times'. The Bishop clearly explained that the present unrest was largely due to the action and behaviour of Zionists who had settled in Palestine since the war. He stressed that. . .in everyday conversation between Zionists in Jerusalem the question was often asked: 'What about the Church of the Holy Sepulchre? Is it to be knocked down or razed to the ground?' They did not realize that Christians and Mohammedans had equal rights in Palestine. . .The idea seemed to be to obtain parity of population and then ask for full control of the government."

Does the attitude of the Zionists in 1920 give you any inkling of what it would be in an independent Jewish State?

Yet I want to allay still further the scruples of my colleague from Guatemala. I myself am a Christian -- a Christian belonging to the one Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church. As such, I tell you straight and in all conscience: "The cause of the Palestine Arabs is just and there is no denying their rights in that country." Further, I may perhaps claim an advantage over the delegate of Guatemala, if he happens to be a Christian too. Coming from Lebanon, I am on the threshold of the Holy Land, and because of the religious atmosphere obtaining there, it has been given to me to observe more closely the teachings of Christ. These teachings were given concrete expression in a lesson of Charity and social justice which has never been equalled throughout the ages, and which is embodied in these words: "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." If the representative of Guatemala had understood this lesson, he would not have

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proposed for Palestine what he would not have accepted for his own country.

Furthermore, let me offer him a last word of advice. He should not let himself be led into error in his ardor to defend a bad cause, and he should try to avoid his leading others, even involuntarily. In spite of the exhaustive documentation with which he has been equipped, he is unaware of the true facts of the problem before us. Nor should he forget the benefits of Arab civilization and culture in Spain and elsewhere. Above all he should not seek, either directly or indirectly to disturb the harmony between Christians and Mohammedans united by a common ideal. All mankind might have to pay the price.

I now come to the statement made by the representative of the United States. Quite frankly, the attitude of the United States Government seems strangely like a "dictate" in the atmosphere of this assembly.

What considerations of law or fair play induced the United States delegation to take this stand?

We were told that: "Since the Balfour Declaration was embodied in the Mandate, and since in 1924 we signed a treaty with the Mandatory Power in Palestine for the protection of American interests, and the Mandate is referred to in the preamble to that treaty, we endorse the majority recommendations and ask that Palestine be divided and a Jewish State established in that country."

To appreciate what weight should be given to this statement, it should be considered in the light of the principles which have guided the great American nation in the past, in order to find out whether these solemn statements of principle are in keeping with, or justify, its attitude in the present debate.

In 1918, the President of the United States made the following statement:

"The sovereignty of the Turkish sections of the present Ottoman Empire must be fully ensured. As to the other nationalities at present under Turkish authority, they must be assured of the certainty of a secure existence with absolute and peaceful opportunities to develop their autonomy."

That was the day on which he proclaimed his Fourteen Points, which recognized the right of self-determination of all nations and peoples.

In 1919 the President of the United States helped to draft Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, recognizing the independence of the

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99

subsequently imposed on Palestine, and what a flagrant denunciation of its immoral nature.

In 1941, the President of the United States made himself responsible for the Atlantic Charter in which he proclaimed that peoples and nations must be at liberty to determine their own fate and enjoy freedom from want and fear.

In 1945, the United States delegation in San Francisco was largely responsible for inserting in Article I of the Charter paragraph 2, which reads as follows:

"To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination. . ."

On 12 March 1947, the President of the United States, in a message addressed to Congress, proclaimed:

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Furthermore, do not let my American friends believe that this show of friendship is a n innovation in Zionist policy. History teaches us that they have had recourse to similar protestations more than once in the past.

Towards the end of the 19th century the Zionists suggested that France should be the apostle of their advance in the Middle East.

It was, I think, in 1898 that one of the founders of Zionism, Dr. Herzl, made an offer to Sultan Abdul Hamid to liquidate all the debts of the Ottoman Empire if he would authorize the Zionists to set up an "Aristocratic State in Palestine."

The Sultan's stinging reply ran:

"Tell Dr. Herzl to make no further move in this matter. Palestine is not mine to give, it belongs to my people with whose blood the soil is drenched."

In 1901, the Zionists, being of Germanic culture, in a proposal made to the Emperor William, then in the zenith of his glory, offered to be Germany's faithful allies in the Middle East and help him build that iron instrument of penetration known as the Bagdad-Railway, if he would help them to occupy Palestine.

The United States delegate's reference to the treaty concluded with Great Britain in 1924 is hardly a juridical or moral justification for the present attitude of the United States Government.

The object of this treaty was not to recognize the political implications of the mandate but to protect certain American interests in Palestine. Furthermore, the quotation relating to the mandate is not found in the clauses of the treaty containing the contractual clauses binding the contracting parties, but simply in the preamble and has therefore only a declaratory significance.

Further, even supposing that the reference to the mandate found only in the preamble had any contractual value, it would not constitute any justification on that account, because the Palestine mandate is itself contrary to the terms of the League of Nations Covenant, to the principles publicly professed by the United States Government and to those on which the Charter of the United Nations is founded. May I, in this connection, quote the text of Article 103 of the Charter, a clause which the United States delegation graciously helped to draft, and which runs as follows:

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Article 103

"IN THE EVENT OF A CONFLICT BETWEEN THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS UNDER THE PRESENT CHARTER AND THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER ANY OTHER INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT, THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE PRESENT CHARTER SHALL PREVAIL."

Having thus failed in each one of its obligations under the Charter, including that relating to the setting up of the "voluntary police force" which is to safeguard the carrying out of the recommendations for the partition of Palestine, the United States delegation tells us in a tone of thinly veiled menace that it hopes that each of the parties concerned will strictly observe the provisions of the Charter.

This advice, which closely resembles an order, impresses nobody. Strict obedience to the provisions of the Charter is not a one-way obligation which certain nations must fulfil because they are weak, while others may neglect it because they are powerful.

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104

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-20-

he believes that the Jews should have their freedom, a reason for subjecting to Jewish domination the hundreds of thousands of Arabs who will be included in the proposed Jewish State?

If, on the other hand, he believes that these hundreds of thousands of Arabs will be free citizens in a Jewish State, why go to the trouble of an unnatural and illegal partition and not take a direct decision in favour of a unified Palestinian State in which the Jews will be free citizens of a unified Arab Palestine.

Gentlemen, in the present circumstances, I should like to address myself to those among you who wish to maintain intact the legal principles laid down in our Charter, to those of you who not only want the basic principles of the Charter to be a moral obligation on the Members of this Assembly but wish to codify them as the international law of the future. Can the United Nations ever sanction a farce so sinister as the partition of a country contrary to the desires of the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants?

Can you make a decision whereby, flouting all the rules of democracy, you would go so far in imposing the will of the minority on the majority as to dismember the territories of the majority? Can it be imagined that you would establish a precedent so pregnant with dangerous consequences for international peace and the peace of the world?

Should such a decision be taken, you would have to write in letters of blood over the entrance to the United Nations:

"Here we have established a special procedure to encourage separatist tendencies in all States Members of the Organization, and henceforward the political independence of nations and their territorial integrity will be dependent on the whim of the political, religious and racial minorities living in their midst."

You would have balkanized the whole world just as some people are in the process of balkanizing the Arab Middle-East.

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Press Release GA/PAL/26  
 23 October 1947

PALESTINE -- SUB-COMMITTEE 2

The first meeting of Sub-Committee 2 on Palestine was held this morning. The meeting was opened by Dr. Alfonso Garcia Robles.

Composition of the Sub-Committee includes the following countries and their representatives:

- |              |  |
|--------------|--|
| Afghanistan  | Mr. Abdol Hamid Aziz                                 |
| Colombia     | Mr. A. Gonzalez-Fernandez                            |
| Egypt        | Mr. Abdel Monem Mostafa                              |
| Iraq         | Mr. Mohamed Fadhil Janali                            |
| Lebanon      | Mr. Camille Chamoun                                  |
| Pakistan     | Sir Mohamed Zafrullah Khan and<br>Mr. Mirza Ispahani |
| Saudi Arabia | Shaikh Hafiz Wahba                                   |
| Syria        | Mr. Faris Bey el-Khoury and<br>Mr. Farid Zein Eddine |
| Yemen        | Mr. Sayed Hassan Ibrahim                             |

The United Kingdom Representative (Mr. Harold Beeley) will take part in the Sub-Committee meetings as an observer.

Mr. Gonzalez Fernandez of Colombia was elected Chairman. In accepting this position, Mr. Fernandez made it clear that, on Dr. Evatt's return to Lake Success, he would request that other non-Moslem Members of the United Nations, in addition to Colombia, be nominated to the Sub-Committee. He would therefore accept the Chairmanship until Dr. Evatt's return.

Mr. Camille Chamoun of Lebanon expressed surprise that all of the Arab countries were included in the Sub-Committee's make-up and announced that, as soon as other countries less directly concerned with the issue were found to replace some of the Arab countries, Lebanon would be ready to withdraw in favor of one of the other countries.

The Representative of Pakistan, Mr. Mirza Ispahani, expressed criticism of the composition of both Sub-Committees, terming the make-up of each too one-sided to smooth off any of the rough edges of disagreement between the Arab plan and the

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107 p.w. E

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8942/951/31

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE  
20th Meeting

SUMMARY  
Press Release GA/PAL/23  
23 October 1947

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OCTOBER 29 SUGGESTED DEAD-LINE FOR  
SUBMISSION OF SUB-COMMITTEE REPORTS ON  
PALESTINE

Following the establishment at yesterday's meeting of the Sub-Committees on Conciliation, the Majority Report and the Arab proposals, the Ad Hoc Committee this morning decided:

- (1) to entrust the task of conciliation/<sup>not</sup> to a formal sub-committee but to the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur of the Committee;
- (2) to authorize the Chairman to appoint representatives on Sub-Committee I (on the UNSCOP Majority Plan for Palestine) and on Sub-Committee II (on Arab proposals for an independent unitary Palestine).

October 29 was suggested as the date for the completion of the work of the two Sub-Committees.

(For a chronological and more detailed account of this meeting, see Takes #1-2 following this summary.)

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AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE  
20th Meeting

(AM) Take # 1  
Press Release GA/PAL/23  
22 October, 1948.

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE -- (AM) TAKE # 1.

The Chairman, Dr. Herbert V. Evatt (Australia) called the Committee to order at 11.15 a.m. and immediately turned to the task of the composition of the three Sub-Committees whose creation was approved at yesterday's meeting.

The Committee decided to entrust the task of conciliation not to a formal Sub-Committee, but to the Chairman, Dr. Herbert V. Evatt (Australia), the Vice-Chairman, Prince Subhasvasti S'vastivat (Siam) and the Rapporteur, Mr. Thor Thors (Iceland) who would be designated as "The Conciliators."

The Committee rejected by 32 votes to 6, with 10 abstentions, a Soviet proposal that all eleven members of the Security Council be included, together with some other delegates, in the Sub-Committee which is to study the Majority Plan of the UNSCOP Report.

The Committee then authorized the Chairman, by 40 votes to 6, with 4 abstentions, to appoint representatives on this Sub-Committee and also on the Sub-Committee which is to study the Iraqi, Saudi Arabian and Syrian proposal for the establishment of an independent unitary Palestine.

The Committee further decided that the work of these two Sub-Committees should be completed by 29 October, with the possibility of an extension of this time limit.

(END OF TAKE # 1.)

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110

Press Release GA/PAL/19  
21 October 1947

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AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

30 OCT 1947

Round-Up for the period 10-18 October 1947

The general discussion on the question of Palestine, which began 3 October, was concluded at the evening meeting of 18 October.

The speakers who participated in this discussion from 10 October through 16 October were:

Dr. Jorge Garcia Granados (Guatemala), 10 October (Press Release GA/PAL/11);

Mr. Herschel V. Johnson (United States), Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (India), Dr. T. F. Tsiang (China), Mr. Faris el Khoury (Syria) and Mr. Mostafa Adl (Iran) on 11 October (Press Release GA/PAL/12);

Mr. Semen K. Tsarapkin (USSR), Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan (Pakistan), Mohmoud Bey Fawzi (Egypt) and Mr. Abdol Hamid Aziz (Afghanistan) on 13 October (Press Release GA/PAL/13);

Dr. Alberto Ulloa (Peru), Mr. Antonio Vieux (Haiti), Dr. Farid Zeid Eddine (Syria), Mr. Vladimir Simic (Yugoslavia) and J. L. Ilsley (Canada) on 14 October (Press Release GA/PAL/15);

Mr. Camille Chamoun (Lebanon) and Dr. Hassan Baghdadi (Yemen) on 15 October (Press Release GA/PAL/16);

Prince Feisal El Saud (Saudi Arabia), Dr. Jose Arce (Argentina), Mr. Arthur Creech-Jones (United Kingdom), Mr. Harry Lawrence (Union of South Africa), Dr. Guillermo Belt (Cuba), Sir Carl Berendsen (New Zealand), Dr. Fadel Jamali (Iraq), Dr. Mohammed Hussein Haekal Pasha (Egypt), and Mr. Karel Lisicky (Czechoslovakia), on 16 October (afternoon), (Press Release GA/PAL/17);

The Emir Adel Arslan (Syria), Mr. Wilhelm Munthe Morgenstierne (Norway), and Dr. Jorge Garcia Granados (Guatemala), on 16 October (evening) (Press Release GA/PAL/18),

Mr. Moshe Shertok, Head of the Political Department of the Jewish

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1	2	3	4	5	6
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Agency for Palestine, spoke on 17 October (Press Release GA/PAL/20), and on 18 October, Mr. Jamal Hussein, Vice-President of the Arab Higher Committee, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, former President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, each made a statement. (Press Release GA/PAL/21).

On Tuesday, 21 October, the Committee will begin discussion of the proposals submitted by the following Delegations:

- EL SALVADOR - Proposals for Arab-Jewish conference under UN auspices, at present session. (Document A/AC.14/3)
- URUGUAY - Immediate admission of 30,000 children, their parents and pregnant women in DP camps to Palestine. (Document A/AC.14/10)
- COLOMBIA - Proposal on acts of violence. (Document A/AC.14/11).
- COLOMBIA - Sub-committee to study Jewish DPs. (Document A/AC.14/12).
- GUATEMALA - To approve UNSCOP Majority Report with amendments re duration of transitional period, interim administering authority, international police force. (Document A/AC.14/13).
- UNITED KINGDOM - Proposal re entire refugee and DP problem. (Document A/AC.14/14).
- SWEDEN & USA - To accept basic principles of unanimous recommendations and Majority Plan of UNSCOP as basis for recommendations re future government of Palestine. (Document A/AC.14/16).
- USA - To establish sub-committee to prepare detailed plan by 27 October 1947 in form of recommendations, in accordance with basic principles of the unanimous recommendations and the Majority Plan of UNSCOP. (Document A/AC.14/17).
- CANADA - To amend USA proposal by adding consideration of territorial administrative responsibility, and methods of implementation. (Document A/AC.14/23).
- NETHERLANDS - To proceed by co-ordinated effort to prepare solution as far as possible acceptable to both parties, to prepare recommendations for implementation, and recommendations for Jewish refugees and DPs. (Document A/AC.14/18).
- YUGOSLAVIA - Jewish refugees in Cyprus be admitted immediately into Palestine. (Document A/AC.14/19(Corr.1)).

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113 p. w.  
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E8942/951/31

INDEXED

GA/PAL/24  
22 October 1947  
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STATEMENT BY DR. EVATT, CHAIRMAN  
AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

Dr. Evatt, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question, has made the following statement:

In accordance with the authority vested in me today by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian question and taking into account the views expressed by many delegations at the end of today's meeting as to willingness to serve on the two Subcommittees, I have determined upon the membership of the Subcommittees as follows:

Subcommittee No. 1

1. Canada
2. Czechoslovakia
3. Guatemala
4. Poland
5. South Africa
6. Uruguay
7. United States of America
8. U.S.S.R.
9. Venezuela

The functions of this Subcommittee are as follows:

- (1) to draw up a detailed plan for the future government of Palestine in accordance with the basic principles of the unanimous recommendations and the major plan of the Special Committee on Palestine;
- (2) to incorporate this plan in the form of recommendations;
- (3) to consider the exercise of administrative responsibility in Palestine during the transitional period, including the possibility of the application of Chapter XII of the Charter; and
- (4) to consider methods by which recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question under paragraph 1 above, would be put into effect.

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115 from.  
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SUB-COMMITTEE I OF THE  
AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE  
PALESTINIAN QUESTION  
THIRD MEETING

Press Release GA/PAL/31  
27 October 1947

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16 NOV 1947

SUB-COMMITTEE ON UNSCOP MAJORITY PLAN TO MEET IN PRIVATE AS  
WORKING GROUP

INDEXED

The Chairman, Mr. Ksawery Pruszyński (Poland) called the Sub-Committee to order at 11:20 A.M.

The Sub-Committee felt that further time was needed to reach agreement on the date of termination of the Mandate as well as on the length and nature of the transitional period which is to precede the granting of independence to the proposed Arab and Jewish States.

After discussion and amendment of a tentative plan of work submitted by Mr. Herschell Johnson (U.S.A.), the Sub-Committee decided to meet in private this afternoon at 3 p.m. as a Working Group of the whole, and to deal with such aspects of the UNSCOP Majority Plan as Economic Union; Public Assets, movable and immovable, Admission to Membership in the United Nations, Declaration concerning Holy Places, Religious and Minority Rights, Citizenship, International Conventions and Financial Obligations, on which there already exists a wide area of agreement among Members of the Sub-Committee.

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INDEXED

116 p.w.

8942 957 3  
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SUBCOMMITTEE II  
AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINIAN QUESTION

Press Release GA/PAL/36  
29 October 1947

*Eastern Despatch*

WORKING GROUP'S REPORT ON JEWISH REFUGEES AND  
DISPLACED PERSONS DISCUSSED BY SUBCOMMITTEE II

Subcommittee II of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question met informally this morning, with its new Chairman, Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan (Pakistan), presiding.

During the closed meeting, the report of the first of the three working groups of the Sub-Committee, that dealing with Jewish refugees and displaced persons, was presented for discussion. The report was prepared by the two remaining members of the first working group: Mr. Camille Chamoun (Lebanon) and Mr. Abdel Hamid Aziz (Afghanistan). The third member of the working group, Mr. A. Gonzalez Fernandez (Colombia), resigned yesterday.

This morning's report was the first of any from the working groups to be discussed by the Subcommittee.

Before the meeting opened, the Chairman, Sir Zafrullah Khan, announced that a memorandum had been sent to Dr. H. V. Evatt (Australia), Chairman of the full Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question. The memorandum, he said, included a request for the extension of the Subcommittee's working time from Wednesday night, 29 October, until the end of this week.

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INDEXED *E 115*

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Press Release GA/PAL/37  
29 October 1947

SUBCOMMITTEE I OF 6 NOV 1947  
AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION  
SEVENTH MEETING

PARTITION SUBCOMMITTEE BEGINS DRAFTING THREE SECTIONS OF  
PALESTINE REPORT

In a closed meeting under the Chairmanship of Mr. Ksawery Pruszyński (Poland) the Sub-Committee this morning went over Chapter 3 of Section C of the Partition Plan of the UNSCOP Report. This Chapter deals with Citizenship, International Conventions and Financial Obligations.

The task of preparing a final text for approval by the Sub-Committee was entrusted to the Representatives from Guatemala for the paragraphs on International Conventions and Financial Obligations, to the Representative from Uruguay for the paragraph on Citizenship, and to the Representative from Czechoslovakia for the paragraph on the Holy Places (Chapter I), which was left over from yesterday afternoon's meeting.

The Sub-Committee will reconvene this afternoon at 3:30 p.m.

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INDEXED  
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118

SUBCOMMITTEE I OF UNSCOP 1947  
AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE  
Eight meeting

GA/PAL/38  
29 October 1947

PALESTINE SUB COMMITTEE GIVEN MORE TIME TO STUDY  
UNSCOP REPORT

Reconvening in private this afternoon, the Subcommittee heard DR. HERBERT V. EVATT, Chairman of the full Committee, state that the time limit of 29 October set to the Subcommittee for submitting its report had been extended, but that no later deadline had been fixed. It was hoped, he said, that the full Committee would be in a position to give consideration to the Subcommittee's report next Monday.

The Subcommittee then took up the question of boundaries. After some discussion on the method of work it was decided to ask the Chairman, Mr. Ksawery Pruszyński (Poland), the Rapporteur, Professor Henrique Rodriguez Fabregat (Uruguay) and Mr. Paul Mohn, Swedish alternate delegate on the UNSCOP, to prepare maps and collect statistical data on the various suggested modifications to the boundaries of the Majority Plan of the UNSCOP Report, for further study.

The Subcommittee afterwards went over Chapter 4 of Section C of the Partition Plan of the UNSCOP Report. This chapter deals with guarantees and the interpretation of Chapters 1, 2, and 3 of Section C. It was approved with a minor amendment.

The Subcommittee then passed on to Section D (Economic Union) of the Partition Plan, and on this matter heard Mr. MOSHE SHEROK and Mr. DAVID HORWITZ, respectively Heads of the Political and of the Economic Departments of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

The Subcommittee will reconvene in private on Friday, 31 October at 11 a.m.

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INDEXED

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SUBCOMMITTEE 2 OF THE  
AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

Press Release G.A./P.L./40  
30 October, 1947.

SUB-COMMITTEE CONSIDERS NEW PROPOSALS FOR A UNITARY PALESTINE.

Meeting informally this morning and this afternoon the Sub-Committee gave consideration to a draft plan for a unitary State in Palestine, prepared by the Working Group on Proposals.

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INDEXED

Eastern Dep. 121

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SUB-COMMITTEE 1  
11th Meeting

Press Release GA/PAL/45  
3 November 1947

AD HOC COMMITTEE ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION

Convening in private under the Chairmanship of MR. KSAWERY PRUSZYNSKI (Poland), the Sub-Committee this morning gave consideration to a number of amendments proposed by the Working Group on Economic Union to Section D of the Partition Plan of the UNSCOF Report (Vol. I, p.50-51).

The Sub-Committee will reconvene next Monday, 3 November, at 11 a.m.

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122 p.w.  
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AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE  
SUBCOMMITTEE I  
13th Meeting.

(PM) TAKE # 1  
Press Release GA/PAL/47 INDEXED  
3 November, 1947.

SUBCOMMITTEE I (PALESTINE) (PM) TAKE # 1 .

Reconvening this afternoon in open meeting, Sub-Committee I of the Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine resumed discussion of the proposals submitted by various delegations on implementation of the eventual recommendations of the General Assembly on Palestine.

Dr. PEDRO ZULONGA (Venezuela) proposed that a working group be set up, composed of representatives of Guatemala, the US and the USSR to study and bring nearer the proposals put forward by these three countries for implementing the Assembly recommendations.

This proposal met with the support of MAJOR GENERAL JOHN H. HILLDRING, (USA) and Dr. J. GARCIA GRANADOS (Guatemala)

Mr. SEMEN TSARAPKIN (USSR) expressed the wish to postpone decision on the Venezuela proposal until further questions and replies on the Guatemalan, US and Soviet proposals for implementation had been heard.

Leaving these questions and replies for a later meeting, the Sub-Committee then took up the question of Economic Union (Section "D" of the Partition Plan of the UNSCOP Report -- pages 50 - 51).

(END OF (PM) TAKE # 1.)

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Reference:

FO 371/61879

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123

UNITED NATIONS  
Department of Public Information  
Press & Publications Bureau  
Lake Success

SUBCOMMITTEE I OF AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE  
13th MEETING

(PM) Take #2  
PRESS RELEASE GA/PAL/47  
3 November 1947

SUBCOMMITTEE I (PALESTINE) - (PM) TAKE #2

The Subcommittee examined the questions of

- (1) a Customs Union; (2) a Common Currency; (3) Operations in the Common Interest of Railways, Interstate Highways, Postal, Telephone and Telegraphic Services; and the ports of Haifa and Jaffa; (4) Joint Economic Development, especially : . . of Irrigation, Land Reclamation and Soil Conservation;
- (5) Access for both States and the City of Jerusalem, on a non-discriminatory basis, to water and power facilities; (6) a Joint Economic Board.

The Subcommittee adopted several amendments proposed by the Working Group on Economic Union.

The Sub-committee's meeting tomorrow morning at 11:00 a.m. will be open to press and public.

(END OF TAKE #2 AND OF PRESS RELEASE GA/PAL/47. BECAUSE BOTH TAKES TOGETHER MAKE A COMPLETE STORY, NO SUMMARY WILL BE ISSUED.)

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UNITED NATIONS  
Department of Public Information  
Press and Publications Bureau  
Lake Success, New York

INDEXED *f.w.*  
FOREIGN OFFICE *E*  
124

SUBCOMMITTEE I OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE  
ON THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION  
14th Meeting

PRESS RELEASE GA/PAL/48  
4 November 1947

*Eastern Dep.*

PALESTINE SUBCOMMITTEE ADOPTS AMENDMENTS TO UNSCOP PLAN FOR ECONOMIC UNION  
-----

The Subcommittee this morning resumed discussion of Section D (Economic Union) of the Majority Partition Plan of the UNSCOP Report (pages 50-51).

The Subcommittee adopted several amendments proposed by the Working Group on Economic Union to the clauses relating to a joint currency; freedom of transit and visit; and termination, modification and interpretation of the proposed treaty of economic union between the Arab State, the Jewish State and the City of Jerusalem.

With regard to the sharing, between the Arab State, the Jewish State and the City of Jerusalem, of the surplus revenue from customs, the United States representative reserved the right of his Delegation to bring forward a proposal at a later date.

As a result of this reservation, adoption of the paragraph was postponed.

The Subcommittee then started to discuss its several plans for implementation and the suggestion of Venezuela that a working group be formed of delegations which had submitted proposals on this subject.

The discussion will be continued at 3 p.m. when MR. SEMEN K. TSARAFKIN (USSR) will answer questions on his statement of yesterday, and MR. L.B. PEARSON (Canada) will make a statement.

The Subcommittee adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

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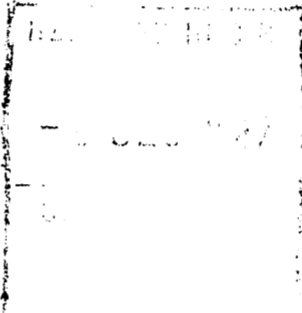
127

rise to the present situation. Above all, the ultimate aim of peace in the Middle East and consequently in the world should be given the greatest possible assurance.

From the point of view of the United Nations, the yardstick in the measurement of any proposal must be the extent to which peace and tranquility in that part of the world may be assured by its adoption.

As the present draft resolution stands, the Chinese Delegation finds it difficult to give it positive support and in accordance with the instructions of the Chinese Government, will abstain in the voting.

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UNITED NATIONS  
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Flushing Meadow, New York

h.v.  
128  
E. U. K. E.

Press Release PM/790  
28 November 1947

The following is issued at the request of M. Antonio Vieux of the Haitian  
Delegation:-

ANNOUNCEMENT BY M. ANTONIO VIEUX OF THE HAITIAN DELEGATION  
-----

I feel that my position in regard to the question of Palestine should be  
made clear.

In the statement I made last Wednesday, I expressed the views that my  
government had just forwarded to me in the most formal terms opposing the  
partition of Palestine.

In an equally formal manner, contrary instructions were forwarded to me  
yesterday.

Therefore, I will undertake the duty to act on the basis of the last  
instructions as I did carry out the previous ones, due to the fact that I did  
not seek to influence the forthcoming of any instructions from my government,

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UNITED NATIONS  
Department of Public Information  
Press and Publications Bureau  
Flushing Meadow, New York

Press Release PI/794  
29 November 1947

PROPOSAL BY IAN

The General Assembly with the object of reaching a reasonable solution of the Palestinian question which may give satisfaction both to the Arab and Jewish populations in Palestine;

DECIDES to adjourn the discussion of this question until 15 January 1948,

INVITES the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian question to study this question now, taking into account the declarations made by the delegation of Lebanon during the meeting of today's date.

INVITES the Committee to prepare a plan for the future government of Palestine;

RECOMMENDS the Secretary-General to communicate the report of the Ad Hoc Committee to the member states before 31 January 1948.

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UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

RUSSELL SQUARE HOUSE, RUSSELL SQUARE, W.C.1. TERminus 8133

Release No. 237

3 December 1947

133

UNITED NATIONS

8942

9-1-31

16 Dec 1947

NEWS BULLETIN

The following is a Digest of United Nations activities in New York, Monday, December 1. It is based on the Radio News Bulletin broadcast by the United Nations daily (except Sundays) at 2300 GMT on 19.62, 25.58 and 18.61 metres.

MAIN EVENTS

\* Members of the 5-nation Commission charged with carrying out the partition of Palestine are expected to be appointed this week.

\* The United Nations Trusteeship Council has set up a sub-committee to study the future status of the City of Jerusalem.

\* An anti-war appeal has been launched by the UNESCO General Conference meeting in Mexico City.

APPOINTMENT OF 5-NATION COMMISSION FOR PALESTINE

While Arab and Jewish reactions in Palestine continue to be reported, plans were being speeded up yesterday, Monday, at Lake Success to appoint staff members of the 5-nation United Nations Commission which will administer the partition of the Holy Land.

At the same time, the Trusteeship Council started preliminary work in drawing up an international statute for the City of Jerusalem and its environs. The international status of Jerusalem was proposed under the partition plan.

Preparation for Partition

The United Nations Palestine Commission will proceed to the Holy Land after its staff members have been appointed. Upon its arrival in Palestine it will carry out the plan for dividing the Holy Land into separate independent Arab and Jewish states.

The five countries on the Commission are Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama and the Philippine Republic.

According to the partition plan, this Commission would receive administrative powers and functions from the mandatory Power as British troops withdraw from the Holy Land. The deadline for troops withdrawal and the termination of the British mandate is August 1 next year. By two months later, i.e. within ten months, independent sovereign Jewish and Arab States would emerge. During the transitional period leading to the independence of these States the 5-nation Commission will hand over administrative powers to provisional government councils in the Arab and Jewish States. Later, this Commission will direct the holding of free elections in the two States.

Though the 5-nation Commission will be under instructions from both the Security Council and the General Assembly, the responsibility for carrying out

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Establishment of the sub-committee was suggested by the United States. The President of the Council, Mr. FRANCIS B. SAYRE, said that the sub-committee should lay the groundwork for Jerusalem's statute. He was of the opinion that the unit should not take any final decision on the matter but should refer the question to the Trusteeship Council from time to time.

Mr. SAYRE suggested that a special session of the Council might be convened later to take final action on the international status for Jerusalem. Mr. SAYRE said that the Council might be able to dispose of its present business before Christmas but he doubted whether a decision on the statute for Jerusalem would be arrived at by then.

"Tremendously important and critical responsibility"

Mr. SAYRE read a communication from the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. TRYPVE LIS, requesting the Council to be informed of the responsibility that had been placed upon it by the General Assembly in adopting the partition plan for Palestine.

"A tremendously important and critical responsibility," said Mr. SAYRE, "has been placed upon the Trusteeship Council. In order to discharge this responsibility, we should begin at once by taking off our spats and getting down to work."

The President then recalled that the statute of the City of Jerusalem should be drafted five months after the adoption of the partition plan by the General Assembly, and he told the delegates that the question merited special study and consideration because the Trusteeship Council would establish the framework of the government of Jerusalem for the next ten years.

No Soviet Vote Either For or Against Jerusalem Plan

Following that the Council voted to create the subsidiary unit which has to draft the Jerusalem statute.

It should be pointed out that the Soviet Union, although a Member of the Trusteeship Council, has not yet named a representative to that organ, thus there was no Soviet vote either for or against the Jerusalem plan.

Trusteeship Council also Considers Petitions

Earlier, the Trusteeship Council studied several petitions from inhabitants of Tanganyika and the Cameroons, both under British administration.

The petitions concerned German residents in Tanganyika who do not want to be repatriated to Germany.

ECAFE REJECTS PROPOSAL FOR INDONESIAN REPRESENTATION

In Manila in the Philippines, the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East turned down an Indian proposal asking that a representative of the Indonesian Republic should sit with the Commission although without the right to vote or speak.

The United Kingdom delegate pointed out that Indonesian representatives were in a sense enjoying the right suggested by India, since the meetings of the Commission were open to the public.

The Indian representative then asked that the Indonesian delegates should be given access to the Commission's dossiers. When put to a vote the Indian proposal was rejected by 5 votes to 4 and 1 abstention.

Then the Commission began its general work with the Soviet delegate urging that programmes of economic rehabilitation for the countries of Asia should be drafted.

/ In Geneva

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OPENING MEETING OF HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION POSTPONED

In Geneva, meanwhile, the Human Rights Commission has postponed its opening plenary meeting until Tuesday, 2 December. In an informal meeting Members voted to postpone it because several delegates, including Mrs. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT of the United States, had not yet arrived in Geneva. Bad weather has delayed arrival.

UNESCO APPROVES ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION

In Mexico City the UNESCO Conference has approved an anti-war appeal addressed to all who are concerned with the dignity of man and the future of civilisation.

This proposal was submitted jointly by France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Brazil and the United Kingdom.

The resolution reads as follows:

"Aware of the responsibilities imposed on them by the UNESCO Constitution, to further universal respect for the laws of human rights and fundamental freedoms of the peoples of the world without discrimination of race, sex, language or religion; concerned with the dangers to peace resulting from current reports conducive to the idea that another war is inevitable; troubled by the indifference, resignation and even calm acceptance which such current reports meet with in certain sections of public opinion;

"The UNESCO General Conference addresses a solemn appeal to all who are concerned with the dignity of man and the future of civilisation, particularly educators, scientists, artists, writers and journalists through the world, and asks them to denounce the pernicious idea that another war is inevitable, to act as a \* for the conscience of the nations in refusing this collective suicide, and to combat by every means in their power a surrender to every form of thought or action which may threaten a just and lasting peace."

BALKANS COMMITTEE ARRIVES IN SALONIKA

From Greece comes word that the United Nations Special Balkans Committee has arrived at Salonika which will be the headquarters of the Committee according to the decision of the General Assembly.

The Committee has already held five meetings during its stay in Athens, the Greek capital, and will hold its next meeting at Salonika today, Tuesday.

COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS CONSIDERS TRUST TERRITORIES IN PACIFIC

At Lake Success the Security Council's Committee of Experts considered the Council's function regarding the strategic trust territories of the former Japanese mandated islands of the Pacific. These islands became United States Trusteeship areas last year.

FOREIGN LOANS DISCUSSED BY SUB-COMMISSION OF ECOSOC

The question of foreign loans was discussed at Lake Success at a meeting of the Sub-Commission on Economic Development of the Economic and Social Council.

\* Broadcast indistinct.

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Reference: **FO 371/61879**



RUSSELL SQUARE HOUSE, RUSSELL SQUARE, W.C.1. TERminus 8133

Release No. 238

3 December 1947

UNITED NATIONS

NEWS BULLETIN

The following is a Digest of United Nations activities in New York, Tuesday, December 2. It is based on the Radio News Bulletin broadcast by the United Nations daily (except Sundays) at 2200 GMT on 19.68, 25.58 and 16.91 metres.

MAIN EVENTS

- \* The United Nations Security Council might consider the partition plan for Palestine next week.
- \* A 6-nation Committee of the Trusteeship Council will study the status of the City of Jerusalem today, Wednesday.
- \* The Secretary-General of the United Nations will leave for Europe on January 2 to choose the site of the next General Assembly session.
- \* Food distribution for needy children has begun in Austria, Finland, Greece and Italy.

PALESTINE - SECURITY COUNCIL'S RESPONSIBILITY

It was announced at Lake Success on Tuesday that the plan for the partition of Palestine might be considered next week by the Security Council, the main United Nations organ charged with maintaining peace and security.

Mr. TRYGVE LIE, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, is formally advising the Security Council of the Assembly's adoption of the partition plan, and Mr. LIE has urged that the five countries on the United Nations Palestine Commission should appoint their staff representatives to this body which will administer the division of the Holy Land into separate Arab and Jewish States. The five countries on this Commission are Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama and the Philippine Republic.

Although the Commission was set up on the recommendation of the General Assembly, it will be under the direction of the Security Council which has the main responsibility in implementing the partition of Palestine.

During the transitional period leading to the new Arab and Jewish States, between now and October 1, the Commission will gradually receive administrative functions from the Mandatory as British troops withdraw from the Holy Land. In this connection, it was announced at Lake Success yesterday that discussions will be held between the United Nations and the United Kingdom regarding the transfer of authority for administering Palestine.

Imminent Departure of U.N. Staff to Palestine

A group of United Nations staff members on the Palestine Commission is expected to leave for the Holy Land within two or three weeks.

A report that the Secretary-General would leave shortly for Palestine was declared to be without foundation.

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Mr. LIE's tentative route will be Geneva, Brussels, Paris, Prague and the Hague. It is expected that he will choose one of these cities as the General Assembly's site.

Mr. LIE then will report his choice to a 9-nation committee appointed by the General Assembly. The committee will make the final decision.

Members of the site committee are Australia, Byelorussia, Ethiopia, India, Lebanon, the Netherlands, Norway, Panama and Uruguay.

"LITTLE ASSEMBLY" TO STUDY VETO EARLY IN JANUARY

Secretariat sources have announced at Lake Success that the Interim Committee of the General Assembly, otherwise known as the "Little Assembly" will hold its first meeting at Lake Success on January 5.

"The Little Assembly" will begin its work with a review of the question of the veto in the Security Council.

U.N.KOREAN COMMISSION: NO DECISION YET ON SECRETARIAT TEAM

It was disclosed that no final decision has been taken as to the composition of the Secretariat team which is to accompany the United Nations Special Mission to Korea.

ICEF ALREADY DISTRIBUTING FOOD IN FOUR COUNTRIES

The International Children's Emergency Fund has announced that it has begun actual food distribution to needy children in Austria, Finland, Greece and Italy.

Between now and November 17 next year, the Fund will have carried out additional food distribution in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

These facts were made public yesterday, Tuesday, by the Executive Director of the Fund, Mr. MAURICE PATE, during a meeting of the unit held at Lake Success.

Mr. PATE also announced that the total funds pledged or received by the Fund as at November 17 this year totalled nearly \$35,000,000. In addition, the Fund expects to receive between \$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000 from several Latin American countries. Pledges have been made by Peru, Chile, Uruguay and Cuba.

Mr. PATE added that the Swiss Government had authorized a direct contribution to the Fund totalling Swiss Frs. 2,000,000.

He reported finally that operations of the Fund in China had been postponed until complete reports are forthcoming from that country. However, a million and a half dollars have been set aside for child aid in areas of Asia outside China.

Enthusiastic Reception in Latin America for "One Day's Pay" Scheme

The United Nations Appeal for Children which has launched a drive for a "One Day's Pay" collection to aid needy children has reported enthusiastic support for its project throughout Latin America.

The Appeal will collect funds which later will be distributed by the International Children's Emergency Fund.

ECAFE APPROVES CONSULTATION WITH CONTROL AUTHORITIES IN JAPAN AND KOREA

In Sequo in the Philippines Republic, the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East now meeting there has approved an Australian resolution suggesting consultation between the Commission and the Allied Control

/authorities

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194

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E 8943

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1941

PALESTINE

27 SEP 1941

Registry number E8943/937/31

TELEGRAM FROM

U.K. Rel.

No.

New York.

Dated

Received in Registry

2652  
26 Sept  
27 -

U.N. Palestine Committee Meetings

Refer 4 Oct 3177 (E8917/46/9) Speech delivered with very slight verbal changes. 1) para 3 last sentence but two substitute "agreement" for arrangement. 2) para 10 second sentence substitute "the United Kingdom" for Britain.

Last Paper.

8942.

(Minutes.)

*Frable*  
(T.E. CABLE)  
27/9

References.

I don't think we need telegraph ~~communications~~ these alterations (which are not important) to Arab posts.

J.B. Sept. 27

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8, Batheson B.O.  
Sent 29.

Del. Cairo 1804  
Bagdad 823  
Ivdda 293  
Amman 425  
Beirut 607  
Damascus 502  
27 Sept 1941

(Action completed.)

*G.L.H. 29/9*

(Index.)

*AB/H/S  
29/9*

Next Paper.

E 8946

32008 F.O.P.

1	2	3	4	5	6
1	1	2	3	4	5

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146

Confidential.

Cypher/OTP.

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2.

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO CAIRO NO. 1804

BAGDAD NO. 325

JEDDA NO. 595

AMMAN NO. 425

BEIRUT NO. 607

DAMASCUS NO. 502

27th September, 1947. D. 2.30 p.m. 27th September 1947.  
Repeated to New York (U.K. Delegation) No. 3203  
Washington 9960.

IMMEDIATE.

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Palestine.

You will no doubt be furnishing me with a summary of  
press and official reactions to the Colonial Secretary's  
statement on Palestine. I shall be glad of earliest  
possible report.

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Reference:

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OUT FILE

2. Manchester Guardian Leader. Approves statement Britain willing to surrender Mandate and leave Palestine but suggest this announcement would have been better made seven months ago. In saying that even if other members of United Nations were prepared to join in enforcing a settlement British Government still could not promise to help. Surely Mr Creech Jones was carrying caution to ~~the~~ point of cowardice. Rather than take responsibility for settlement which might annoy Arabs we are apparently ready to scuttle leaving Jews and Arabs to fight it out. That would be sorry end to Mandate and though perhaps necessary in certain circumstances early to talk of it now. Effect of speech on Assembly must be deeply discouraging. Everyone knows no solution possible agreeable to both Jews and Arabs. To insist on such solution is to condemn both majority and minority recommendations and every proposal put forward. Idea of imposing partition on Arabs by force of arms certainly repugnant but scruples of British Government would be more impressive if it had not for two years been trying to impose by arms on Jews solution acceptable to Arabs. Must not be forgotten no one forced Mandate on us. We stayed in Palestine because it suited us to do so. Surely better to take pride in National Home as creative action of British statesmanship for which we hold direct responsibility. Perhaps threat of British withdrawal will persuade Arabs to see reason but honour and interest both require us before departure to see Palestine settled and Jewish National Home firmly established.

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We cannot now do this alone but with authority UNO and help other members still possible.

3. Daily Telegraph Leader. Statement undoubtedly has general support public opinion this country. Alternative squarely before United Nations of devising acceptable settlement or themselves undertaking burden of occupation. Britain cannot be expected to sustain existing situation with cost of lives and money and odium any longer. Attempt by Britain to implement partition could only result in concentrating upon herself enmity of entire Arab world. If United Nations can propose settlement within framework of general recommendations of UNSCOP well and good. Must however be some time limit on Britain's further responsibility. If ~~any~~<sup>no</sup> settlement found UNO must install some alternative authority to whom Britain can hand over unless prepared to accept consequences of vacuum. Britain's notice of intention to quit or at most to act as interim executant of agreed scheme of pacification should impart fresh sense of realism to deliberations of Assembly and in particular to those ready to criticize so long as they bore no responsibility.

4. Daily Express Leader. Approves intention of Britain to withdraw when police fall dying in Tel Aviv. British troops should be brought home as quickly as possible. Let those who criticize Britain take up burden.

5. News Chronicle Leader says majority opinion in UK will back statement.

6. Daily Herald carries no leader.

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7. In news columns some papers quote Foreign Office spokesman saying Britain will begin withdrawal from Palestine immediately Assembly over unless agreed solution reached. Spokesman quoted as saying "we will not hand over authority to any racial group and period of anarchy may follow withdrawal".

8. Also emphasized that British withdrawal from Palestine would not mean withdrawal from Middle East.

9. Daily Telegraph correspondent Jerusalem reports Arabs and Jews alike surprised and incredulous. Emile Ghoury first reaction one of welcome. Jews appear unprepared to accept statement at face value. Arab Office London welcome statement and British endorsement of suggestion that Palestine be given independence, Mandate terminated and British forces withdrawn. Daily Herald Jerusalem correspondent quotes reactions as follows. Jewish shopkeeper: Withdrawal is betrayal. Arab policeman: Far too early for British to leave. Jewish cafe-keeper: We shall be at mercy of terrorists. Arab grocer: Worker well-paid, has decent hours, wears good suit. Glad to see Britain leave but not for 100 years. British troops delighted at news.

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152

En Clair

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 1

FROM FOREIGN OFFICE TO NEW YORK

(To United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations)

No. 3204

D. 4.09 p.m. 27th September, 1947.

27th September, 1947.

///

IMMEDIATE

Following for Martin from Mathieson.

Summary of United Kingdom press reactions to Secretary of State's statement, 27th September.

[Begins]

Times Leader. "It seems clear that two principal factors have shaped the statement of British policy of the future of Palestine made yesterday by Mr. Creech Jones to the Special Committee set up by United Nations. The first is recognition that British people not disposed indefinitely to shoulder unaided burden of responsibility which rightly belongs community civilised nations, and can be sustained effectively only with material and moral support of all those on whose behalf it was originally undertaken. Second is conviction this country having requested United Nations to take cognizance of present impasse in Palestine must define and limit responsibilities it is prepared to shoulder in process of imposing by force any plan which United Nations may endorse." "But his (Creech Jones) unreserved endorsement of view expressed by committee that mandate should be terminated forthwith, his announcement that Britain will willingly lay down obligations imposed upon her so that independence of Palestine may be brought within attainment, and his expression of Government's decision that in absence of settlement they must plan for early withdrawal of British troops will have intended salutary result of bringing United Nations face to face with crucial question of means available for enforcement of any decision it may take." .... "Whether Britain will join with other Powers in enforcing settlement of this nature must depend first upon British view of its inherent justice, and secondly upon British estimate of extent to which force would require to be employed. It would appear that this estimate would not necessarily be based upon calculations of divisions, guns and aircraft which might need to be mustered, but rather upon strength and character of opposition likely to be aroused. If support can be secured from men of good will and moderation on either side, resistance of more fanatical and intransigent elements, however bitter and even dangerous, might not sway this country's decision." .....

"On question of partition he made no pronouncement. But it is inevitable that favourable reception already accorded to majority recommendations by so many of the nations represented on Palestine Committee will shortly compel Government to consider afresh irrefutable arguments originally mustered by Peel Commission and subsequently endorsed by impartial international inquiry."

/Manchester

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7. In news columns some papers quote Foreign Office spokesman saying Britain will begin withdrawal from Palestine immediately Assembly over unless agreed solution reached. Spokesman quoted as saying "we will not hand over authority to any racial group and period of anarchy may follow withdrawal".

8. Also emphasised that British withdrawal from Palestine would not mean withdrawal from Middle East.

9. Daily Telegraph correspondent Jerusalem reports Arabs and Jews alike surprised and incredulous. Emile Ghoury first reaction one of welcome. Jews appear unprepared to accept statement at face value. Arab Office London welcome statement and British endorsement of suggestion that Palestine be given independence, mandate terminated and British forces withdrawn. Daily Herald Jerusalem correspondent quotes reactions as follows.  
 Jewish shopkeeper: Withdrawal is betrayal. Arab policeman: Far too early for British to leave. Jewish cafe-keeper: We shall be at mercy of terrorists. Arab grocer: Worker well-paid, has decent hours, wears good suit. Glad to see Britain leave but not for 100 years. British troops delighted at news.

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Registry

No:

P.

Draft. Telegram

3210 ✓  
27/9

To: Permanent U.K  
Representative to  
U.N., New York.

27th September.

En Clair

FILES

copy to  
Mr. Burgess.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

OUT FILE <sup>Date</sup> ✓

IMMEDIATE.

Despatched ✓

1535

Following for Mackenzie from Ridsdale.

Editorials on Palestine.

Times first leader says: In pursuing its conception of the obligations to both sides imposed upon it by the original mandate, this country has incurred the bitter opposition of each, - one fact which of itself testifies to the faithful discharge of an onerous responsibility..... The malignant misrepresentations directed against Britain by partisans of each int erst would never of themselves have deterred her from her honourable task had it not become abundantly clear that the policy imposed by the mandate would not of itself lead to the designated end of an independent Palestine. It was therefore apparent that the heavy sacrifices in British lives exacted by the fanatical violence of contending Jews and Arabs would have been made in vain unless an alternative path to this same goal could be devised by the collective wisdom of the nations... The Colonial Secretary indeed made the position of this country abundantly - ~~xxxx~~ to some it may be unpalatably - clear.....

If support can be secured from men of good will and moderation on either side the resistance of more fanatical and intransigent elements, however bitter and even dangerous, might not sway this country's decision.. On the quest on of partition he made no pronouncement. But it is inevitable that the favourable reception already accorded to the majority recommendations by so many of the nations represented on the Palestine Committee will shortly compel the Government to consider afresh...

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61879

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afresh the irrefutable arguments originally mustered by the Peel Commission and subsequently endorsed by impartial international inquiry.

Daily Telegraph leader. There can be no question as to the general support of public opinion in this country for the Government's policy on Palestine... Whatever hope there was of success has latterly been thwarted by organised interference from without. It is a situation which (Britain) can no longer be expected to sustain. The cost in lives and money, to say nothing of the odium, renders it intolerable that she should continue.... Force cannot in any case restore order in Palestine, but if force is to be used it should be exerted by the nations acting upon their collective responsibility not by one nation alone.... Mr. Creech Jones has rightly made it clear that that nation cannot be Britain.... Britain's unequivocal notice of her intention to quit, or at most to act as the interim executant of an agreed scheme of pacification should impart a fresh sense of realism to the deliberations of the United Nations, and, in particular, to those members who were ready enough to criticise so long as they did not bear the responsibility of action.

News Chronicle..... The ultimate responsibility is placed upon UNO and the burden of execution is not to be borne entirely by Britain. This attitude will be backed by majority opinion in this country and it is well that our position should be known abroad.

Daily Express..... Britain should start planning...

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

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Reference: **FO 371/61879**

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Registry  
No:

Draft.

NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN.

planning now, to leave the blood-stained ~~xxx~~ soil of this unhappy land. And British troops should be brought home as quickly as the operation can be organised. Too many British lives have been sacrificed in Palestine. Now let those who criticise Britain take up the burden.

Manchester Guardian leader...Rather than take any responsibility for a settlement which might annoy the Arabs we are apparently ready to scuttle out of Palestine, leaving the Jews and Arabs to fight it out for themselves. That would be a sorry end to our mandate, and, though it might be necessary in certain circumstances, it is early to talk of it now. The effect of this speech on the United Nations Assembly cannot be anything but deeply discouraging. Everyone knows that no solution agreeable to both Jews and Arabs is possible....The most one can possibly hope for is a solution which is equally disagreeable to both parties - which would not necessarily be the best.....The idea of imposing partition on the Arabs by force of arms is certainly repugnant but it can hardly be condemned outright on these grounds alone. The scruples of the British Government would be more impressive if it had not during the past two years been trying to impose on the Jews by force of arms a solution acceptable to the Arabs. Certainly we could not and should not impose partition alone, but was it necessary to suggest so clearly that we shall not be a party to partition even if other members of the United Nations are prepared to join with us in enforcing it?  
It...

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Reference:

FO 371/61879

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158

It is quite likely of course that no such help will be forthcoming....In that case we should be free to do as we like, and if necessary to leave Palestine bag and baggage. But what slight hopes of United Nations action ~~there~~ there was have certainly been chilled by these reservations on the part of the one Power best able to help....We cannot wash our hands of Palestine. We talk a great deal about our heavy obligations under the mandate, forgetting that no one forced us to take the mandate in the first place and that we stayed in Palestine because it suited us to do so.

It would surely be better to take pride in the fact that the National Home was a creative act of British statesmanship for which we have a direct responsibility.....Perhaps the threat of a British withdrawal will persuade the Arabs to see reason. But honour and interest both require that before we go we should if possible see Palestine settled and the Jewish National Home established on a firm basis. We cannot now do this alone, but with the authority of the United Nations and the help of other members it is still possible. The least we can do is to offer our full co-operation.

A. I. D.

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 Reference: **FO 371/61879**



country for the Government's policy on Palestine.... Whatever hope there was of success has latterly been thwarted by organised interference from without. It is a situation which (Britain) can no longer be expected to sustain. The cost in lives and money, to say nothing of the odium, renders it intolerable that she should continue.... Force cannot in any case restore order in Palestine, but if force is to be used it should be exerted by the nations acting upon their collective responsibility not by one nation alone....Mr. Creech Jones has rightly made it clear that that nation cannot be Britain.... Britain's unequivocal notice of her intention to quit, or at most to act as the interim executant of an agreed scheme of pacification should impart a fresh sense of realism to the deliberations of the United Nations, and, in particular, to those members who were ready enough to criticise so long as they did not bear the responsibility of action.

News Chronicle..... The ultimate responsibility is placed upon U.N.O. and the burden of execution is not to be borne entirely by Britain. This attitude will be backed by majority opinion in this country and it is well that our position should be known abroad.

Daily Express..... Britain should start planning now to leave the blood-stained soil of this unhappy land. And British troops should be brought home as quickly as the operation can be organised. Too many British lives have been sacrificed in Palestine. Now let those who criticise Britain take up the burden.

Manchester Guardian leader..... Rather than take any responsibility for a settlement which might annoy the Arabs we are apparently ready to scuttle out of Palestine, leaving the Jews and Arabs to fight it out for themselves. That would be a sorry end to our mandate, and, though it might be necessary in certain circumstances, it is early to talk of it now. The effect of this speech on the United Nations Assembly cannot be anything but deeply discouraging. Everyone knows that no solution agreeable to both Jews and Arabs is possible.... The most one can possibly hope for is a solution which is equally disagreeable to both parties - which would not necessarily be the best.... The idea of imposing partition on the Arabs by force of arms is certainly repugnant but it can hardly be condemned outright on these grounds alone. The scruples of the British Government would be more impressive if it had not during the past two years been trying to impose on the Jews by force of arms a solution

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61879

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163

En Clair

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION  
FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

E 8946

27 SEP 1947

Mr. Evans.  
No. 60.

18th September 1947.

R. 10.15. a.m. 26th September  
1947.

Repeated to Damascus No. 196.  
Amman No. 62.  
Jedda No. 64.  
Bagdad No. 63.  
Cairo No. 54.  
B.M.E.O. No. 38.

.....  
My telegram No. 652 [of September 6th] - Lebanese  
reactions to U.N.S.C.O.P. report.

Following is text of statement by Prime Minister  
issued to the press on September 14th.

"The opinion of the Lebanese Government (about the U.N.S.C.O.P. report) is the same as the opinion of every Arab. I do not wish to express my denunciation of what was said in the report, because the Arab case in the Holy Land ought not to be allowed henceforth to be the subject of mere verbal demonstrations, for this question is so grave that we cannot be satisfied with mere expressions of criticism. If the writers of this report wish to make the world believe that their conclusions constitute a remedy to this question and the actual means of avoiding this menace to peace in the Middle East, then they are trying to camouflage the facts and to deviate from the truth. The Arab states will exhaust all the political means at their disposal at U.N.O. or at any other International Political organisation in their attempt to convince the supporters of this Zionist madness of the seriousness of what they are doing. However, if our political means should fail in the political field, then the Arab States would not hesitate to re-sort to other means for the eradication of a centre of evil which is based on religious and social fanaticism in a vital part of the Middle East. In this connexion I repeat to you what I stated to the International Committee of Enquiry at the meeting held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in

/Beirut

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Reference:

FO 371/61879

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Beirut on 22nd July 1947:-

The Arab countries, which have for thousands of years lived free from anything which is likely to defeat its harmony and solidarity, will not allow the creation of a State which will set for the dissolution of this solidarity. Therefore, the Arab States, in defending the Arabism of Palestine, will be defending themselves and will be contending to restrict the aspirations of the Zionists. In doing so, they will do away with the centres of evil in the Middle East and serve the interests of world peace, and so prove that they are faithful to their history as well as to the principles of human rights".

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61879

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196

1947

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E 8979

165

29 SEP 1

PALESTINE

Registry Number

E8979/921/51

TELEGRAM FROM

No. M Roberts  
Morrow

Dated

2160

Received in Registry

28 Sept  
29 -

Palestine, Soviet Press.

Soviet Press has been remarkably silent on Palestine an important subject has thus been postponed. Given report of speech by Deputy Chief of Communist Party, ZLESCHUK, and view of local weekly 'Worker' correspondent.

Last Paper.

8946

References.

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Minutes.)

It has been evident for some time that the Soviet Govt. are unwilling to commit themselves to a definite line on Palestine. The nearest they have come to it was Gromyko's statement at the UN, six months ago, which gave guarded support to Jewish aspirations.

7/10/47  
Nancy Dept.

FORD 10/1/47

ME ID

U.S.S.R have now made a statement in their view. 16/10.

D.S. Beins  
Sept 29

Bot. 23

RLG  
29/9

(Action completed.)

G. S. Morris 10

(Index.)

26/9/47

Next Paper.

E9005

32008 F.O.P.

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Reference:

FO 371 61879

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166

Cypher/OTP

E 8979

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

FROM MOSCOW TO FOREIGN OFFICE

29 SEP 1947

Mr. Roberts  
No. 2160

D. 12.01 a.m. September 29th, 1947.

September 28th, 1947.

R. 1.45 a.m. September 29th, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem  
United Kingdom Delegation New York  
Washington

SSSSS

IMPORTANT

RESTRICTED LIGHT

Foreign Office please pass as my telegrams  
Unnumbered, No. 772 and No. 412.

Palestine.

Soviet press has been remarkably silent on  
Palestine for some time and important lecture billed  
on this subject has twice been postponed without any  
reason being given.

2. Deputy Chief of Communist Party propaganda  
organisation, Oleschuk, in an international review on  
September 18th report of which has only just reached me,  
restated Soviet position on familiar lines, asserting  
that the interests of two imperialistic nations, America  
and Britain, would clash over Palestine. Their  
interests were also contrary to those of both Jews and  
Arabs. The Soviet Union firmly demanded the departure  
of the imperialistic States from Palestine and the grant-  
ing to Palestine of freedom in the solution of her  
internal problems.

3. For what his views may be worth, local "Daily  
Worker" correspondent told me yesterday that he was  
confident that Soviet authorities had not finally  
decided their policy on Palestine and were anxious to  
retain some freedom of manoeuvre for themselves until  
they saw how things were going in the General Assembly.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York  
and Washington]

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial  
Office for repetition to Jerusalem]

SEP 29 1947

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Reference: FO 371/61879

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198

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E 9013

1947.

PALESTINE

SEP 1947

Registry Number

E 9013/951/31.

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

U.K. tel.

Dated

New York.

Received in Registry

2704  
29 Sept  
30 -

U.N. Political Committee meetings.

Refer New York tel 2659 (E 8942/957/31).  
This meeting was held Sept 29 and heard a  
neutral statement by TAMAR HUSSEINI.  
It declined to comment on UNSCOP report as  
Arabs absolutely oppose any form of partition.

Last Paper.

9005

References.

(Minutes.)

J.A. 11/x  
U.N. (Pol.) Sept.

D.S. Beins  
Sept. 30

R.P.  
11/x

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

(Action completed)

J. L. 11/10

(Index.)

26/11/48

Next Paper.

9018

32008 F.O.P.

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Reference:

FO 371/61879

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168

En clair

WORLD ORGANISATION DISTRIBUTION

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 2704

September 29th, 1947.

D. 12.41 a.m. September 30th, 1947.

R. 6.45 a.m. September 30th, 1947.

Repeated to Jerusalem  
Washington Saving

SSSSS

E 9013  
SEP

IMMEDIATE

My telegram No. 2659.

Palestine Committee.

The third meeting of the Committee on September 29th heard a routine statement of the Arab case by Jamal Hussein. He declined to comment on the U.N.S.C.O.P. report because the Palestine Arabs could not regard it as a basis for discussion. They were determined to oppose "with all the means at their disposal any scheme that provides for the dissection, segregation or partition of their tiny country, or that gives to a minority on the grounds of creed special or preferential rights or status". The only item on the agenda that they were prepared to discuss was the item providing for the establishment of Palestine as an independent State. Jamal Hussein added that once Palestine was found to be entitled to independence the United Nations would not be legally competent to impose a constitution on the country. This was a task which must be undertaken by the people themselves.

2. Referring to the Colonial Secretary's speech, Jamal Hussein said "the Arab Delegation heartily welcomes this belated declaration and trusts the British Government this time will not reverse its decision under Zionist or any other pressure as we regret to say it has done on other occasions".

Foreign Office please pass Immediate to Jerusalem as my telegram No. 74.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section Colonial Office for repetition to Jerusalem]

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Reference: **FO 371/61879**

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SEP 30 1947







E 9018

172

En clair

SPD

FILES

FROM NEW YORK TO FOREIGN OFFICE

(From United Kingdom Delegation to United Nations)

No. 2695

D. 1.25 p.m. September 29th, 1947.

September 29th, 1947.

R. 7.50 p.m. September 29th, 1947.

SSSS

Following for Mathieson Colonial Office from Martin.

Many thanks for summary of press reactions in your telegram No. 3204. We shall be glad to receive equally full summaries in future but to avoid duplication suggest you arrange with Ridsdale to include everything of interest to us in his regular telegraphic summaries.

[Copies sent to Telegraph Section  
Colonial Office]

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61879

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policy with mixed feelings which can be analysed as follows: -

- 1) approval in principle of our decision to withdraw (in the event of U.N.O. reaching no viable decision).
- 2) some doubt as to our sincerity
- 3) apprehension of what the consequences may be if and when we do withdraw, and Jews & Arabs are left face to face.

I expect that as time goes on, this apprehension will grow and that ~~the~~ Arab opinion will become increasingly insistent that in withdrawing we have a moral duty to leave behind some administrative framework, and not simply leave the country to chaos. In short the Arabs will say that we should not leave until some such framework has been established.

Meanwhile, in order to clear the air, it is ~~clearly~~ desirable to bring home to the Arabs (and the Jews) that we are in earnest about pulling out. I understand the P.O.S. is discussing this point with the P.M. today.

Given Cabinet Dist - with  
Serial No. 6924693.

R. G. G. G.  
2/x

JB 01.27

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Reference:

FO 371/61879

175

Cypher/OTP

DEPARTMENTAL NO. 2.

FROM BAGDAD TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Pelham.  
No. 903.

D. 3.10. p.m. 29th September  
1947.

29th September 1947.

R. 6.40. p.m. 29th September  
1947.

Repeated to Cairo,  
Beirut,  
Damascus,  
Amman,  
Jedda,  
Jerusalem,  
B.M.E.C.  
U.K. Delegation New York,  
Washington.

E 9029  
29 SEP 1947

.....

IMPORTANT

Your telegram No. 1804 to Cairo.

No official reaction to Colonial Secretary's statement has yet been made public.

2. The Prime Minister's attitude to press forecasts of the statement was reported in my telegram No. 877, paragraph 3. Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has since confirmed to Oriental Counsellor that the Iraqi Government's attitude is likely to be one of sober satisfaction. Director General said however that public opinion would take the line that Great Britain could not disclaim responsibility for the Palestine problem.

3. Only two local newspapers have commented so far. Al Yaqdha expresses satisfaction at the admission that European refugee problem cannot be solved by Palestine but warns against bargaining with United States in Arab rights. Al Saa says that there can be no neutrality on Palestine. Britain should take her stand by the side she believes to be right.

4. General attitude appears to be one of relief of tension. Political parties have called for a general strike on Friday October 3rd. Friday is of course in any case a local holiday.

5. I shall report more fully when reaction becomes more defined.

Foreign Office please pass to Amman, U.K. Del. New York and Washington as my telegrams Nos. 69, 10 and 11 respectively.

Beirut pass to Damascus as my telegram 96.

[Repeated to Amman, U.K. Delegation New York and Washington]

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Reference:

FO 371/61879

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1947



Cypher OTP

DEPARTMENTAL No. 2

FROM BEIRUT TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Evans  
No. 692

D. 6.24 p.m. 29th September 1947.

29th September 1947. R. 8.15 p.m. 29th September 1947.

Repeated to U.K. Del. New York No. 14 (Foreign Office  
please pass)

Cairo	}	Saving
B.M.E.O. Cairo		
Bagdad		
Jedda		
Amman		
Damascus		
Jerusalem		

E 9030

IMPORTANT  
SECRET

rrrrrr

Your telegram No. 1804 to Cairo.

Palestine.

Reaction has been less marked than anticipated owing partly to the weekend, but mainly as a result of the publication on September 27th of letter addressed to UNSCOP last July by the Maronite Archbishop of Beirut. According to the press this letter advocates the establishment of Jewish State in Palestine which together with the Christian Lebanon would form bulwark against the Moslem world. There is little doubt that the publication was arranged by the Government to discredit Menseigneur Meubarak who since the election has been engaged in violent opposition activities. General strike in pretest was called for today and with the Government's blessing the town is virtually closed.

2. Press comment on the Colonial Secretary's speech has so far been slight, although the speech itself has been fully reported. Private reactions of the various Moslem and Christian notables are reported in my immediately following telegram.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York].

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181

E 9039

PALESTINE

CT

1947

Registry Number E9039/927/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No. Mr. Becker

Dated Cairo

Received in Registry 1946

29 Sept 1946

Left speech Egyptian Press. Report from Mr. H.H. (E9031/927/31) basis text of statement by Mr. H.H. about Egyptian in "International" Sept 29. saying text outside of scope in that they cannot meet problem and are other than... to determine future of their country.

Last Paper.

9032

(Minutes.)

See E9065

References.

FORO 8/10

to out. 1

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8/ W.A.B. Mathews C.O. Oct 1

(Action completed.)

G.E.M. 10/10

(Index.)

26/8/45

Next Paper.

9040

32008 F.O.P.

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Reference: FO 371/61879

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En Clair

E 9039

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION  
FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Bowker  
No. 1946

D. 1.5 p.m. 30th September, 1947  
R. 3.5 p.m. 30th September, 1947

29th September, 1947.

Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York  
Bagdad )  
Beirut )  
Damascus ) Saving  
Jedda )  
Jerusalem )  
Amman )

F F F F

IMPORTANT

My telegram No. 1944 Palestine.

Khalil Tabet writing in Mokattam September 29th remarks that Colonial Secretary in his statement made no mention of Britain's attitude of Jewish [sic ? Jews] agreed to partition and Arabs rejected it. The Colonial Secretary knows very well that Arabs cannot agree to partition since they rightly believe no one other than themselves has the right to determine the future of their country. Immigration of Jews into Palestine does not give them right to possess it either in whole or in part. No country in the world is so disturbed as Palestine where British Military forces, although large in numbers, are unable to protect their own men whilst British Government has made life difficult for the inhabitants. British policy in Palestine has proved a failure in spite of the bloodshed and funds spent by the British there, so they are now trying to persuade Americans to share in the burden of responsibility. The Article concludes by alleging that the British Government has broken its promises to King Hussein and has torn up the White Paper whilst the scraps were trodden underfoot by that lying and misleading Committee (i.e. UNSCOP).

2. No additional press comment on this subject had appeared up to noon on 30th September.

Foreign Office please pass United Kingdom Delegation as my telegram No. 192.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York]



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206

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183

E 9040

1947

PALESTINE

CT

Registry Number

E 9040/951/31

TELEGRAM FROM

No.

W. Bowker

Dated

1 min

Received in Registry

1945  
30 Sept  
1 Oct

Prof S. Speech Egyptian Reactions

Refers to 1944 (E 9031/951/31) first impression created by speech is neither wholly good nor wholly bad. It is suggested that some definite manoeuvre in backing behind the statement and Egyptian reactions may be summed up as being a cautious disposition to "wait and see".

Last Paper.

9039

(Minutes.)

See E 9065

References.

FOR D. 8/10

JB out.

Made Cabinet Draft

RG  
2/4

(Print.)

(How disposed of.)

8. W. Atkinson. 60.  
1 Oct 1

(Action completed.)

G.E. 10/10

(Index.)

26/10/48

Next Paper.

9051

32003 F.O.P.

1	2	3	4	5	6
		1		2	

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Reference: FO 371/61879

E 9040

184

Cypher OTP

DEPARTMENTAL No. 2

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Bowker  
No. 1945

D. 11.45 a.m. 30th September 1947.

30th September 1947. R. 2.25 p.m. 30th September 1947.

Repeated to U.K. Del. New York  
Jerusalem )  
Bagdad )  
Jedda ) Saving  
Amman )  
Beirut )  
Damascus )

IMPORTANT

rrrrrr

Palestine.

E 9071/47

My immediately preceding telegram.

So far as can be ascertained at present, the first impression created by Colonial Secretary's statement on Palestine in Egyptian official circles is neither wholly good nor wholly bad. It is suspected that some hidden manoeuvre is lurking behind the statement and Egyptian re-action may be summed up as being a cautious disposition to "wait and see" what concrete developments will eventually emerge.

2. The scantiness of press comment so far may be partly attributed to very considerable amount of newspaper space taken up by reports on the cholera outbreak which has tended to eclipse all other events during the past few days.

Foreign Office please pass to New York as my telegram No. 101.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York].

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FO 371/61879

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185  
END

(2nd October 1947)

[This telegram is of particular <sup>3 OCT 1947</sup> secrecy and should be retained by the authorised recipient and not passed on]

Cypher/OTP

CABINET DISTRIBUTION

FROM CAIRO TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. Bowker E D. 11.45 a.m. 30th September 1947  
No. 1945 R. 2.25 p.m. 30th September 1947

30th September 1947

Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York

Jerusalem }  
Bagdad }  
Jedda } Saving  
Amman }  
Beirut }  
Damascus }

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IMPORTANT

Palestine.

My immediately preceding telegram.

So far as can be ascertained at present, the first impression created by Colonial Secretary's statement on Palestine in Egyptian official circles is neither wholly good nor wholly bad. It is suspected that some hidden manoeuvre is lurking behind the statement and Egyptian reaction may be summed up as being a cautious disposition to "wait and see" what concrete developments will eventually emerge.

2. The scantiness of press comment so far may be partly attributed to very considerable amount of newspaper space taken up by reports on the cholera outbreak which has tended to eclipse all other events during the past few days.

Foreign Office please pass to New York as my telegram No. 101.

[Repeated to United Kingdom Delegation New York]

RECEIVED  
30 OCT 1947

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Reference:

FO 371 / 61879

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